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ENOCH LEWIS.

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# OBITUARY.

## Hon. Joseph J. Lewis—Brief Sketch of His Busy Life.

Hon. Joseph J. Lewis, of West Chester, at one time one of the most prominent citizens in the eastern section of Pennsylvania, died at his home on Thursday evening. Mr. Lewis had been an invalid for several years; and as during the past few weeks he had been failing rapidly, his death was not unexpected. The life of Mr. Lewis was intimately associated with the history of Pennsylvania. He was born at the West Town Friends' Boarding School on October 5, 1801, his father being

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other important positions, but he declined them. He was married three times, his last wife surviving him.

*L. C. Thompson*  
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A MEMOIR  
OF  
ENOCH LEWIS.

By JOSEPH J. LEWIS.

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WEST CHESTER, PA.:  
PRESS OF F. S. HICKMAN.  
1882.

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*To the relatives, friends and former pupils of  
my late Father.*

More than twenty years ago, I wrote a rough draft of a memoir of my father, intending to publish it without delay ; but national troubles and other circumstances diverted me from my purpose. The practice of my profession, which I resumed after the war, occupied my time so fully that I could not return to the subject, until my failing sight compelled me to withdraw from business. On reëxamining my MS memoir at that time, I found it to contain far more than seemed necessary for the special object of recalling to those interested, the peculiar traits of my father's character. The little work was therefore to be rewritten, under the disadvantage of inability to read, by dictation to an amanuensis. This fact may in a measure account for any apparent negligence of expression, needless repetition, or imperfect proof-reading. I trust, however, that you, for whose perusal the memoir is especially designed, will recognize the fidelity and general accuracy of the sketch, though I am conscious that those who best knew my father will feel most deeply how far short it falls of doing full justice to his memory.

JOSEPH J. LEWIS.

WEST CHESTER, PA., 7th Mo. 4th, 1882.



# MEMOIR OF ENOCH LEWIS.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ANCESTORS.

The ancestors of Enoch Lewis came early to Pennsylvania. They were among those earnest and devoted men, who, preferring political and religious liberty, attended by privation and hardship in the New World, to a life of comparative ease subject to aristocratic and ecclesiastical domination in the Old, sought, under the auspices of a governor with whose pacific principles and benevolent purposes they thoroughly sympathized, to become the pioneers of a new civilization in which Christianity should be a pervading and informing element.

In the latter part of 1681, or the beginning of 1682, Henry Lewis emigrated from Narbeth, a small market-town in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, and arrived at Upland, afterwards Chester, on the west bank of the river Delaware. He was accompanied by his father, Evan Lewis, then an old man, and his family, consisting of his wife, Margaret, and three children, two sons and one daughter, an elder daughter having died prior to his emigration. The eldest son, whose name was also Henry, was a lad of less than eleven years. He was born, as appears by a record still existing in Friends' Library in London, "10th month 26, 1671." (o. s.) Samuel, the second son, was born "8th month 1, 1676." (o. s.) and Elizabeth, the daughter, was born "12th month 14th, 1677." (o. s.) Henry Lewis, the elder, brought with him from the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Narbeth, a certificate of membership of himself and family. His

father, Evan Lewis, does not appear to have joined the Society. The Monthly Meeting at Narbeth, prior to 1682, was in a flourishing condition, but it has now become extinct, having lost its members, mainly, by emigration to America. Even the house in which it was held has disappeared. A gentleman of high respectability in Narbeth, who has made the antiquities of the place a subject of study, showed, in 1876, the spot where the meeting-house stood. It was on the top of the hill, the western slope of which is occupied by the town, and commands a view, wide as the horizon, of a country of wonderful fertility and picturesque beauty. The gentlemen had, himself, when a boy, attended meetings for worship in that quaint old edifice, in which George Fox, John Ap John, and William Penn, had preached, and he stated that there was an existing tradition that the lot on which the building was erected was a donation to the Society from the Lewises, whose large family mansion he pointed out from a station in the highway, opposite the meeting-house grounds. It stands from half a mile to a mile east of Narbeth, and is embowered by venerable oaks and elms, and surrounded by fields bounded by trim hedges, and glowing with rich verdure. Till within thirty years it was still in the family name, having descended through successive generations from father to son, for some centuries, to the last proprietor, but it has now passed into the hands of strangers.

William Penn obtained his charter as proprietary and governor of Pennsylvania, on the Fourth of Third Month, 1681, and the province was immediately open for settlement. As an inducement to his Welsh friends, who were then suffering persecution from the bigotry and intolerance of the English church, which had not learned the first principles of religious liberty, the proprietary promised to erect a barony of about forty thousand acres of land outside of the limits of the intended city, and not including any prior grants, for the special accommodation of the Welsh emigrants. Their object was to have a separate municipal district, in which the business of the municipality should be transacted by officers of the barony, and in which the proceedings of the courts should be conduc-

ted in their own language. The erection of a baronial division, indeed, implied the institution of a court baron, with a jurisdiction co-extensive with the barony. To the native Welsh, this was important, as, to the great majority of them, the English was an unknown tongue. They have always been, and still are, strongly attached to the language and customs of their country, and do not easily become Anglicized. Narbeth, even now, contains two distinct populations almost equal in number—one English and the other Welsh—each occupying separate portions of the town, and ignorant of the language of the other. Although the forty thousand acres were not actually surveyed till 1684, it was understood that the survey would include lands lying immediately west of the Schuylkill river. Henry Lewis, though an educated man, and speaking, as is believed, both languages, preferred to establish a settlement within the limits of the projected barony, where he expected to be soon surrounded by many friends and neighbors, who were preparing to follow him to Pennsylvania. He, therefore, in conjunction with William Howell, purchased of Lewis David, a tract of a thousand acres, bounded on the south by Darby, and the city liberty land, and on the east by Merion ; and a conveyance by lease and release, dated the 10th and 11th days of Fifth Month, 1682 (o. s.), was made to the purchasers as tenants in common. This was at the eastern end of the forty thousand acres, which was afterwards called "The Welsh Tract," but which never became a barony, in the proper sense of the term, much to the disappointment of many of the settlers. The grantees, very soon after obtaining their title, made partition of the land purchased. The part which fell to Henry Lewis, according to a subsequent survey, contained five hundred and fifty acres. On the same Tenth day of Fifth Month, 1682 (o. s.), Henry Lewis bought an adjacent piece of land, containing two hundred and fifty acres, which had been recently patented in the name of Arthur Buse. On the first mentioned of these tracts, he proceeded to erect a commodious two-storied house, for a residence for himself and family. As soon as Philadelphia was laid out, which was in the Autumn of 1682, he purchased a lot of ground and built upon it a



house, within the limits of the new city, in which it appears, that he resided a part of each year. How he divided his time between his country and his city residences, does not appear, but circumstances seem to indicate that the greater part of each year was spent in Philadelphia. His settlement in Haverford was one of the first three in the township, and the probability is, that the want of society in his forest home induced a preference for city life, which, full of energy and enterprise in its primitive phase, may well have worn a charm even for the sedate and self-denying Friend; and it certainly opened a wider sphere of usefulness and presented larger demands on benevolent effort in the existing condition of the infant colony, than a rude frontier with the wild men of the woods for neighbors.

The emigrants were advised by Penn of the severe extremes of the climate of Pennsylvania; and of the necessity of making provision before leaving their native country, for their wants during the first winter after their arrival in the colony; but this advice was in many instances, unheeded, especially by people of the poorer sort. Many of these arriving at Philadelphia late in the year, became objects of charitable attention, until they could obtain employment or find places for settlement. Henry Lewis was appointed by the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, one of a committee of two to look to the wants of these and others needing relief, and to distribute among them the funds provided for the emergency, according to the judgment and discretion of the committee. For the duties thus assigned him, he was well fitted by the benevolence of his disposition, and by his active temperament. A number of the emigrants had, like himself, suffered severely from religious persecution by imprisonment and loss of property, and were in haste to escape from their persecutors, and his profound sympathy with them in their troubles, stimulated him to vigorous efforts on their behalf. In 1683, the Indian title was wholly extinguished, and such friendly relations established between Penn and the natives as left the adventurous colonists to prosecute their peaceful pursuits without apprehension of hostile interference; and they applied themselves with the

characteristic energy of freemen hopeful of the future, to the task of subduing the wilderness. The Welsh settlers were principally farmers ; but the necessities of their new condition compelled many of them to use implements to which they had been unaccustomed, and to build their own houses, shoe their own horses, repair their own carts, harrows and plows, and make their own clothes, as generally happens in recent settlements and sparsely populated districts. This habit of relying on their own ingenuity and skill rather than on commercial exchanges for a supply of necessities, became impressed on their descendants, and remained with them for several generations.

Some of the Welsh immigrants were members of the Society of Friends, but many were not. Those who were not members of the Society were impelled to leave their native country, less by zeal for religious liberty than to escape the tyranny of the nobles, of whose exactions they bitterly complained, and their fortunate experience and favorable representations of the country, led others to follow speedily in their track. They were an industrious, frugal people, of innocent lives and simple manners, and generally joined the Friends soon after their arrival in the province, and assisted in forming meetings of worship and discipline. A large proportion of them spoke only their native language, and when William Penn once visited them as a preacher, but few knew enough of English to understand him. We know little else of the life of Henry Lewis, though we are told that he took a lively interest in the political government of the province, and in the success of the "holy experiment" which Penn came to institute, by establishing a colony unprotected by arms, and founding a commonwealth on principles of universal peace, in the midst of a warlike and barbarous people. He seems to have been well acquainted with the proprietary, and was one of those to whom William Penn, in a letter written soon after his return to England, desired to be especially remembered. In municipal affairs we meet with his name only as foreman of the first grand jury that sat for Philadelphia County, under the provincial organization ; as one of three peace-makers for the same county, and as an officer of Haverford township for 1682.

This institution of peace-makers provided, by a sort of arbitration, a means of settling differences without resort to the ordinary legal tribunals, and was intended to prevent unnecessary litigation. It operated beneficently in the infant colony, and it would, if wisely administered, be a useful auxiliary to any modern judicial system. It is difficult to understand why it was abolished in Pennsylvania. A similar institution exists in France, and is found to produce the most satisfactory results.

After a little more than six years' residence in the province, Henry Lewis died in the vigor of his manhood. He was buried at Haverford, so says the minute of the event in the books of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, "on ye 17th day of ye Sixth Month, 1688." (o. s.) He left a widow, Margaret, two sons, Henry and Samuel, and a daughter, Elizabeth, afterwards the wife of Richard Hayes, one of the leading men of the province.

The site which Henry Lewis selected for his family mansion in Haverford, was remarkable for the beauty of its position, and the charming view it commanded. It was the subject of general admiration, and no passer by could fail to note its attractions. It became the property of Henry Lewis the second by the will of his father. He reared there a large family, and added to the tract an adjoining one of ninety acres, by purchase. At his death, his son Henry, the third of the name, became the proprietor. He, on the Fifteenth day of Sixth Month, 1749, sold the mansion house with three hundred and twenty-two acres of land, constituted partly of the original five hundred and fifty acres, and partly of the ninety acres purchased in 1722, to Captain John Wilcox, of the British army. Captain Wilcox, soon after his purchase, demolished the plain old dwelling built by Henry Lewis the first, and erected on its ruins a large and elegant structure, and added to the natural beauties of the place, such adornments as the best taste of the period could suggest. He called it Clifton Hall, and occupied it for some years as a country seat. In 1761 it passed into the hands of Captain Charles Cruickshank, also an officer of the British army, who changed its name from Clifton Hall to The Grange, and expended largely of his ample

means in its ornamentation. He, it was, it is believed, that cut the terraced walks, established the green-house and gardens, and made the spot what it came to be, the seat of luxurious repose and elegant refinement, where the elite of Philadelphia society in ante-revolutionary times were often entertained. Dr. Charles Caldwell, afterwards Professor of Natural History in the University of Pennsylvania, and still later Professor of Medicine in the Transylvania University, when a young man, made "The Grange" the subject of a poem, written much in the style of Darwin's "Botanic Garden," which Dr. Smith has published in the appendix to his History of Delaware County. The Grange Farm has been shorn of its ancient glory by repeated divisions and subdivisions, since the days of Captain Cruickshank, and is now owned by several proprietors. The house and the grounds immediately surrounding belong at this time to John Ashurst, Esq., of Philadelphia.

Henry Lewis the second was in his seventeenth year when his father died. "On ye 20th of ye 10th month, 1692, (o. s.) at the age of twenty-one, he married Mary Taylor, daughter of Robert Taylor of Springfield, at the house of Bartholomew Coppock." This is the substance of the minute on the books of the Springfield Monthly Meeting, still extant. How it happened that the wedding took place at a private house and not at a public meeting for worship of the particular organization to which the bride belonged, is not explained, and might at first view lead us to suppose that the marriage was not in conformity with the usages of the Society, which require that the marriage ceremonies shall be performed in meetings for worship. But it is to be remembered that in the early days of the province, meetings for worship were frequently held at private houses, and that was no doubt the case in the present instance. By this marriage Henry Lewis had seven children, of whom *John*, born "ye 23d of ye 3d month, 1697," (o. s.) was the third. By a second marriage, which occurred about the beginning of the year 1710, he had four sons, of whom Henry, who on the death of his father became owner of the "Clifton Hall" estate, was the eldest.

Henry the second, though a devoted member of the Society



of Friends, and actively engaged in promoting its religious welfare and business interests, was not indifferent to public or political duties. He took an active part in the affairs of the colony, was elected a member of the Assembly, and served during the sessions of 1715 and 18, and occupied other positions of official trust. One of his daughters, Margaret, married Isaac Price, the grand-father of Philip Price, and great-grand-father of Eli K. Price, Esq., a distinguished member of the Philadelphia Bar, born in 7th month, 1797, and still living. Henry Lewis, the second, was a man of superior intelligence, a sturdy farmer, a consistent Friend, and a highly respected citizen.

John Lewis, the second son of Henry Lewis the second, learned the trade of a mason, and married in 1725, Katharine Roberts, daughter of Abel Roberts, at Friends' Meeting in Radnor. Her mother, Mary Roberts, was the owner of a farm of a hundred acres of land in Radnor, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia. On the death of Mary Roberts, the property descended to her two children; and John Lewis, who resided on the farm during the life of his mother-in-law, soon after her death, purchased the interest of his wife's sister. He subsequently purchased a tract of one hundred and sixty acres of land adjoining. He had four sons and three daughters. Evan, the youngest son, was born 4th month 13th, 1740. In 1770, he married Esther Massey. Three years after, Esther died, leaving two children, Thomas and Sarah. In 1775, he married Jane, a daughter of John Meredith. She was born 1st month 12th, 1743, and was therefore about thirty-two years old at the time of her marriage. She was a woman of superior mind, had a taste for learning, especially delighted in computation, and in resolving difficult problems in arithmetic; and acquired knowledge with great facility. I was once told by a worthy old gentleman, who had been one of her school-mates, that in school she stood at the head of her classes, and easily outstripped all competition. "Though a little girl," said he, "not more, apparently, than ten or twelve years of age, she was more than a match, especially in figures, for the biggest boys amongst us. The master would often send her to show

us how to work out our questions in arithmetic. It was pleasant enough to see her so smart, but not to be instructed by her. It made us feel like boobies." Her father, John Meredith, came to this country from Radnorshire, Wales, with his father's family, in 1708, when he was about nine years old. He appears to have been a man of unusual force of character. He became a member of the Society of Friends in 1753, and died 3d month 4th, 1769. In my father's family record her first paternal ancestor appears to have been David Vaughan, and the record runs thus :

1. David Vaughan.
2. Evan David, his son.
3. William Evan, his son.
4. Meredith William, his son.
5. Hugh Meredith, his son.
6. Simon Meredith, his son.
7. John Meredith, his son.

This mode of giving to the son the first name of the father for his family name, appears to be peculiarly Welsh.

Her mother was a daughter of Lewis Williams, who was usually called the King of Goshen, because of his being the first settler in the township, and for some time its only inhabitant, as well as because of some eccentricities of character. William Penn once paid him a visit in his forest home, and Williams, in honor of his expected visitor, planted a number of young trees on the sides of the path that led to his house, and bending the tops of the trees over the path, tied them together, so as to form a rude alcove, beneath which the proprietor must pass to reach the dwelling. "What means this?" said Penn, as, alighting from his horse, he observed the preparation made for his reception. "These are my life-guards," answered the monarch of Goshen, "so poor a kingdom as mine can afford no better." The house, built by this original settler, stood but a short distance northeast of Goshen meeting-house, and some of its ruins were visible within the memory of persons now living.

The Merediths were Welsh. Simon, the grand-father of Jane, born in 1663, was among the early colonists, who settled first

in Vincent, Chester County, where a number of his descendants still reside. Jane had a brother Simon, well remembered in the neighborhood of Coventry, where he resided. He lived to his hundredth year, and was a man of superior intelligence, highly respected for the purity of his life and the benevolence of his disposition. He died 5th month 29th, 1828.

Evan Lewis, about the time of his second marriage, removed to the family homestead in Radnor, and took charge of the farm, and his father and mother continued for the rest of their lives to be members of his family. John, the father, died in 1780, having first conveyed his moiety of the one hundred acres which he purchased of his wife's sister, to his son Abel; and devised by will, the one hundred and sixty acres adjoining, to Evan, subject to legacies payable to the other children. Catharine survived her husband, and died in 1781. She left the moiety of the homestead tract to Evan, charged, however, with the payment of more than three-fourths of its value. Evan purchased of the heirs of Abel their moiety, and thus became owner of all the land held by his father and mother, and being industrious and frugal, in due time removed all incumbrances.

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## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY LIFE.

Enoch Lewis was the eldest son of Evan and Jane Lewis, and was born on the 29th day of 1st month 1776. When very young, he manifested a singular fondness for books, and learned to read, almost by dint of his inquisitiveness, without assistance except from his mother, who was compelled by his persistence in asking questions to satisfy his curiosity. The libraries of Chester County farmers, in the days of his boyhood, were usually limited to a very few volumes, and that of Evan Lewis was but little superior to those of his neighbors. During the revolutionary war, the industry of the country was depressed, and its agriculture, for some years afterwards, re-

mained in a languishing condition. Farmers in debt, though not very deeply, had enough to do to support their families and educate their children in the plainest manner, without indulging them largely in the luxury of books. The few that fell in his way, Enoch read with avidity before he was thought able to understand their purport. His mother's instructions assisted to direct his inquiries and form his tastes. Although her opportunities of education were limited to what could be learned in a common day-school in the country, she had a decided inclination for literature, and was particularly fond of arithmetical questions and calculations, in which she contrived very early to interest her eldest son. When upwards of eighty years of age, he answered a question of a near relative, respecting this period of his life, by remarking—"I do not remember the time when I did not know the first three rules in arithmetic—Addition, Subtraction and Multiplication. Among the amusements of my earliest recollection, was that of setting down columns of figures on a slate and adding them up and then subtracting the sum of one column from that of another, and afterwards multiplying the result by some other number, and thus continuing till I had filled the slate. This early formation of a taste for figures, I attribute to the judicious training of my excellent mother. In consequence of this attention to arithmetical exercises, I was much further advanced in the knowledge of figures, than other boys of my age at the schools I attended, and they never seemed to think it worth while to attempt to compete with me." He might have added what has been repeatedly stated by some of his school-mates at the old Radnor school, that he was particularly distinguished among his fellows for his facility in working with figures, and that his teachers were accustomed to avail themselves of his superior knowledge of arithmetic, in solving questions which baffled their own skill. The American Tutor's Assistant, which was for many years a popular school-book, was published when he was a lad of about fourteen years. He soon made himself thoroughly acquainted with it, which was more than many of the school-masters of the day were able to do, and they often applied to him, some coming



from a distance beyond his own immediate neighborhood, to be relieved of the difficulties they experienced in the use of the new treatise. Such applications were responded to with alacrity, and as he took pains to explain clearly the processes of his solutions, he profited in no small measure by his own efforts to instruct.

His demeanor was habitually grave and serious. One who lived several years in the same house with him during his boyhood, remarked in my presence: "I never knew Enoch to laugh aloud. He seemed to have his own thoughts apart from the rest of us young people, and to be always shooting over our heads. He was earnest and inquiring, yet he was not morose. He enjoyed an innocent joke and the tone of his conversation was cheerful; but the subjects which engaged his attention were, usually, beyond and above those which interested boys of his age." His associates, indeed, so far as he had any, were all older than himself and of sedate and thoughtful dispositions. An elderly gentleman once said to me, "I knew your father when a boy—that is to say, a boy in years, for as to being a boy like other boys, he never was. At school, he spent noon-time figuring on his slate, or reading some book, and rarely joined in our plays, but when he did he played with all his might, and with a determination not to be beaten. He was high-spirited and quick-tempered, but somehow or other never got into quarrels; and if there was a dispute about any matter of which he was a witness, he was the one to be appealed to, to know how it was, for we all had confidence that he would tell exactly the truth. He never whistled, nor sang, nor played tricks, nor teased the girls, nor helped bar out the master like the rest of us. Though so sober-minded that most of us were rather in awe of him, he would not tell tales on his mischievous school-fellows, but would persist in keeping silence when he could not deny his knowledge of our pranks." A brother, Elijah, rather more than two years his junior, thus spoke of him as to his school-boy period. "I cannot now recollect an instance of brother Enoch ever participating in our games or plays. While the other boys at school would be amusing themselves with hand and corner ball, prisoner base,

chase the fox, wrestling, and such like sports, he would pour over his books or work with his slate and pencil on some arithmetical question. I remember well, we used to get up quarrels amongst us, for the pleasure of seeing a fight, especially among the smaller boys, and I had my full share in broils brought on by the encouragement of others or my own impetuous temper, but, in no instance was Enoch involved in them. He quarrelled with no one, but went on his way, and pursued his own thoughts without interfering with us, or we generally, with him. In going to and returning from school, we passed the log dwelling of an old couple, who lived by the road-side, and who, cohabiting without any legal tie, were supposed by us boys to be fair subjects of any tormenting tricks that we might choose to play upon them. We used as we passed to throw stones on the roof till we would excite the old man to come out and threaten and swear at us, which, as we could always keep at a safe distance, was fun for us to hear. But Enoch took no part in this cruel sport, nor, indeed, in any other; nor, did he wait to be a spectator of our mischief. When we began to loiter, he would push on ahead, sometimes merely saying, 'you had better come on'; but generally, without speaking a word, or even turning to look back to see what we were doing. He was stout for one of his age, active and athletic, and he seemed older, considerably, than he really was."

His first efforts to extend his acquisitions beyond the limits of common arithmetic, were in the winter of 1789-90. His teacher, however, though an amiable and respectable man, was not competent to instruct him, and it was not till some time after that he fully comprehended the idea that mathematical science is sustained by incontestable evidence, and that its results are indubitable truths. He was then a strong, robust and active lad, and, his services being valuable as an assistant to his father, he was principally occupied with the labors of the farm. His time for reading and study was at night after his day's work was done, and he was accustomed to retire early to his chamber in order to enjoy his favorite pursuits without interruption. Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, having

fallen in his way when he was in his fifteenth year, he read it with enthusiasm, and committed to memory many pages, which, to the last week of his life, he could repeat with accuracy. I well remember his reciting at length the parting scene between Hector and Andromache, a few months before his death; and stating that he had not read a line of it for upwards of sixty years. He also read other works of Pope with interest and admiration. His memory easily took hold of the pointed and sententious couplets of the poet, and the smooth and delicious harmony of his numbers pleased his ear and gratified his taste. He was, however, offended by his impurities, which he attributed to the habitual study of the Latin poets, whose wit is too apt to be tainted by indelicate allusions. In the first reading of Milton the ardent mind of the young student was captivated by the lofty magnificence of the poet's strain, and delighted by the facility and grace with which he alternates from the grand and the sublime, to the tender and the beautiful, and brings to the relief of the mind burdened with images of horror, the sweetest and softest pictures of love and joy. But, after the tumult of his feelings, surprised and overcome by the magic power of the author's genius, and the excitement caused by the tremendous imagery which gives to visionary horrors a startling reality, had passed away, his religious sensibilities were affected by the impression that the subject was not within the proper sphere of poetry and that there was a near approach to impiety in using the sacred name of Deity and that of the Immaculate Son to identify and individuate spiritual forms, employed as machinery in the action of an epic poem. Shakespeare's plays were to him a sealed book, as long as he remained in his father's house, and as he read nothing of which his father disapproved, it was not till several years after this period that he ventured to read them. His opinions and prejudices against the drama were then too decided, perhaps, to permit him to appreciate fully the brightest genius that has ever given its inspirations to English literature, because of the forms chosen for its development; and he agreed with a majority of Friends, that the works of the great poet of nature, are, in the main, inimical to the interests of



virtue and religion, and therefore, not to be recommended to general perusal. Yet his taste was too just and his judgment too true, not to recognize the amazing creative power of the poet and his profound knowledge of human character, and of the moods and phases of human passion as well as his wonderful intellectual energy and complete dominion over language in the description of natural scenery, of passionate action and of the emotions of the heart, and he could not forbear occasionally quoting him in his hours of relaxation in the family circle, though seldom without an expression of regret that so stupendous an intellect should not have found "a more fitting exercise than in the production of plays to be exhibited in theatres, for the amusement of idle people." He read with care, and committed many passages in Young's *Night Thoughts*; and he made himself familiar with the works of Cowper, whose *Task*, especially, he enjoyed with a keen relish. His love of poetry thus awakened, fostered as it was by an early habit of solitary study and mental abstraction, led him to the perpetration of no small number of pieces in verse, which were quite the admiration of his juvenile friends of both sexes; and a few of them found their way afterwards into the newspapers. Some of these early efforts, he would occasionally recite from memory, in his genial moods in after years, but he could not be persuaded to recommit them to paper. He, however, considered that the time he had spent in versification was by no means thrown away, as the facility acquired by it in the use of language aided him greatly in prose composition. Among his pieces that attract most attention was a monody on the death of a grand-niece of Jacob Lewis, who was a brother of his grand-father. The young lady was well known for her personal beauty and superior intelligence, and my father's verses were very gratifying to the widow of Jacob Lewis, by whom she had been adopted and who manifested her gratitude by leaving him a legacy of fifty pounds in her will. Though deeply interested in English Literature, he did not neglect his duties on the farm. He was diligent and industrious, and pursued with energy whatever he undertook, notwithstanding the employment was not suited to his tastes. It is related of him,

that his horses at plough were sometimes observed to stand longer in the shade than was needful for rest, while he, forgetful of the sliding minutes, was working out some problem with figures in the sand ; but he did not fail, nevertheless, to make within the day, a fair day's work. At fifteen, he was accounted a full hand in gathering the harvest, and led the reapers and mowers in the field. He was expert in the management of horses, and preferred those of the highest spirit, and of the greatest speed, however intractable and difficult to be governed. His sister once told me that he often drove a four-horse team, and it was noticed that he usually accomplished his trips in less time than any hired teamster, and on his return, however severe the weather, he looked first to the comfortable housing and provision of his horses, before caring for himself or stopping for a moment to warm hands or feet. His decided character was once exhibited, when upon the roads, drawing a heavy load of lime homeward. He gave half the road to an approaching teamster with an unloaded wagon, but the teamster happened to be a bully, and had predetermined that the "Quaker Boy" should turn out of the beaten way, so as to give him the whole track. But the Quaker boy had no mind to be imposed upon. Seeing the bully's purpose, he stopped his own horses, and running forward he took his stand firmly in front of the approaching team, with his whip raised so as to make it necessary for the leading horse to turn aside to avoid him. The teamster leaped from his saddle-horse in great indignation, swearing furiously. He was met with a firm countenance, and told plainly and without anger that what he was entitled to was half the road, and if satisfied with that he might take it, and pass on, but that he should have no more. The cool and determined bearing of the beardless stripling took by surprise the teamster bully, who, feeling not too well assured of the result of a contest with one who appeared so self-confident, obeyed the promptings of the discrete and better phase of his valor and remounted his horse and turned from the way. This incident is mentioned as displaying, in very early life, the firm texture of character, which my father carried with him to his grave. It would have been more commendable, doubtless, to

give the whole road, rather than risk an encounter which could lead to no satisfactory or honorable result ; and this, a few years later, when the power of self-control and the predominance of religious sentiment held under stronger curb the impulses of a spirit naturally ardent, would have been his own view.

He rarely took part in the athletic exercises, in which his youthful acquaintances used frequently to contest for superiority when they happened to meet at elections, vendues, corn-huskings or other similar occasions. But it was not impossible to provoke him to an effort, especially in running or leaping, or even in wrestling, by imprudent boasting ; and several instances have been related in which he put a very short stop to the vaunts of presumptuous athletes, too confident of their own powers, by a prompt challenge and an easy victory.

It was the universal custom, during the boyhood of my father, for the farmers to give spirituous liquors to their workmen in harvest. The labors of that season being more severe than those of other portions of the year, it was considered that some stimulating beverage was indispensable to sustain the powers of the laborer. His father disliked the practice and yielded to it with reluctance, continually increased by experience of its debasing results. Being a man of deep piety and of nice moral sensibilities, his mind was at times profoundly troubled on the subject. He sometimes said that by reason of the excitement and turbulence caused by the use of liquor, he feared that he lost as much in christian progress in the time of harvest as he was able to gain with all his diligence during the rest of the year. Still, the difficulty of procuring the necessary assistance without liquor seemed insurmountable, and it was not till some years later that he proved the contrary by actual experiment, and thus became relieved of a burden which made the ingathering of his summer crops a work of anxiety and dread. His sons were necessarily exposed to the temptation of indulging with others in the customary beverage ; but my father, though very young and inexperienced, having noticed the degrading effects of the practice, resolved to abstain from all alcoholic drinks. This resolution was confirmed



by having drunk, on a single occasion, of a sweet mixture of which gin was an ingredient, and by having felt, without being intoxicated, that he was more than usually excited, and was bereft of his habitual self-command, while under the influence of the draught. He was quick to perceive that if he would make sure his escape from the degraded condition of a drunkard, he must avoid fostering an appetite which might become too strong for the control of reason or conscience. Having taken his stand, he was not to be moved, boy as he was, by persuasion or ridicule. There were companions of his harvest-labors, who laughed at him for his persistent singularity, but who, in after times, may have lamented their own fatal delusion, when they found themselves before they were well aware whither the current of their fate was tending, whirled in the giddy circle of that maelstrom, whose sweep is ruin, and whose vortex is death.

The opportunities for education afforded at the Radnor School at this period were not by any means brilliant. Some of the teachers were moderately competent to teach Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar, while others were totally incompetent; and the time usually allotted to farmers' sons for attending school was inconsiderable. After a boy became large enough to be of use on the farm, he was, as a rule, spared from regular work only during the winter months; and even then his assistance was required mornings and evenings in feeding and otherwise caring for the live-stock. Evan Lewis had no thought of preparing his sons for any occupation other than his own; and he offered Enoch no advantages of education superior to those usually enjoyed by other farmers' sons. His acquisitions of school learning, therefore, for several years, were not large, though his craving for knowledge was unceasing and his industry untiring. By the time he was thirteen, his scholarship, though not extensive, was fully equal to his teachers', and the only profit he derived from his winter's schooling was that of becoming more familiar with what he had previously learned. The opinion entertained of his acquirements had become so favorable that when he was about fourteen, application was made to him to become an usher in

a large school within less than an hour's walk of his father's residence. In this position he played his part so well for the time that he was so occupied, that in the following year he was employed to teach Radnor School where he had recently been a pupil. This was rather a formidable undertaking for a lad of fifteen, especially as many of his pupils were young men several years his senior. His qualifications to teach were undoubted, but how was so raw a youth to maintain the needed discipline? The question was soon answered. The uniform steadiness of the young teacher, his firm and decided manner joined with moderation made him master of the situation. No school was more orderly, or apparently more easily governed. With the exception of some intervals of a month or two in continuance, during which he was occupied in assisting his father on his farm, he continued to teach till the spring of 1793. When just turned of seventeen, he went to Philadelphia to avail himself of the instruction of William Waring, then teaching in the mathematical department of Friends' Academy, on Fourth street, near Chestnut. He found employment for half of each day as teacher in another school, and the other half was devoted to study under Waring, who was an admirable mathematical instructor. He understood his subject thoroughly, and had a most happy faculty of demonstration which enabled him to make every thing clear to the comprehension of the student, and with his great fluency of expression, to invest with a charm the severest processes of the logic of his science. The teacher and the pupil were soon upon the most cordial footing of friendly intercourse, and the love of the latter for abstract investigation increased to enthusiasm. Every hour that could be spared from other engagements was given to study, and, in his own teaching he practised on his master's method, and endeavored to make it his own. The opportunity for proper direction in his favorite pursuit was now enjoyed for the first time, and profitable results were anticipated. But a sad disappointment awaited him. Towards the close of the summer of 1793, the yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia in the form of a fatal epidemic, and Waring was one of the first victims. Speaking of this event many years after, my father said :



"The death of William Waring was a very severe blow to me. He was a most estimable man, and, as a preceptor, I never knew his equal, in his line. He first opened my eyes to the value and beauty of mathematical science, and he effectually spoiled me for taking lessons of any one else then accessible to me. If I could have entered the University of Pennsylvania I would probably have found Robert Patterson an acceptable instructor, but I could not well afford the expense, and the university was not deemed a place for a Friend's son at that time. Though saddened, my ardor for study was not abated, and I went on, therefore, alone." Although the death of Waring was a serious disappointment, my father had learned much from his intercourse with him during the short period of their acquaintance. He had learned to think. He had learned that science was not a mere store-house of facts, but an aggregation or congeries of ascertained principles, by which facts can be arranged, classified and harmonized, and new results produced, explained and accounted for. His thoughts took a higher and a wider range, and his progress in solid learning became more rapid and more fully assured.

Soon after the death of Waring he procured a copy of Halley's *Astronomy* in Latin. Being unable to find a copy in English, he was obliged to allow that valuable treatise to remain a sealed book to him or to make himself master of the language in which its treasures were locked up. He decided on the latter alternative, and having purchased a Latin Grammar and Dictionary, went resolutely to work and was not long in acquiring a sufficient knowledge of Latin to be able to read mathematical works in that language with facility.

During the winter of 1793-4 and the following spring, he was employed in teaching again the Radnor School; but desiring more leisure for study, and access to books beyond his reach in the country, he returned in the summer of 1794 to Philadelphia and was employed as before to teach the half of each day, leaving at his command the other half. His pay was small, but he was enabled with strict economy to support himself, and to purchase such books as he most needed. His dress was plain and in homespun clothes. He had no vices, follies

nor expensive tastes, and he wanted little beyond what was merely sufficient for the payment of his board. He had but few acquaintances, and no companions engaged in the same line of inquiry. He knew hardly anybody outside of the Society of Friends, and within the pale of that Society there were no young men who cultivated mathematical science. Having considerable time at his disposal he entered upon a course of solitary study and prosecuted it assiduously without intercourse with any one capable of suggesting an idea on the subject that engrossed his thoughts or, caring to cheer him by a word of encouragement. He had a few relations in the city who were wealthy, and occupied good social positions, at whose elegant homes he was always cordially welcomed. His mind was too full of other subjects than those which constituted the staple of conversation among the young ladies and gentlemen of the day to enjoy their society, and he went little into company and had no intimate associates.

In the spring of the year 1795, he was led by curiosity to visit the hall of the Philadelphia Library, for the purpose of examining Newton's *Principia*. Andrew Ellicott, who had been a major in the army of the Revolution, and had, then, been lately appointed one of the commissioners for making some surveys, and laying out certain towns in western Pennsylvania, happened to be present. Ellicott was himself a mathematician of very respectable acquirements, and was surprised to hear a rustic, home-spun looking youth asking for such a book, and, particularly, when he appeared to examine it with such interest and attention, as manifested a knowledge of the language and the subject. He availed himself of the opportunity to draw the young scholar into conversation, and was pleased with his intelligence and with the accuracy of his knowledge: and as soon as the latter left the hall, Ellicott inquired of Zachariah Poulson, who was at that time the librarian, the name of the youth who had asked him for Newton's *Principia*? The librarian could not answer, but the conversation that ensued so excited his interest, that happening to meet a plain young man of rustic appearance in the street, whom he took to be the same he had seen at the hall,

he addressed him somewhat abruptly, inquiring whether he had not been at the Philadelphia Library within a few days. On receiving an affirmative answer: "Then," says Poulson, "you are the lad Major Ellicott wants to see." "Who is Major Ellicott and where shall I find him?" inquired the other. "He is the gentleman," returned Poulson "that was talking with you the other day; but I do not know where he is to be found now—possibly at the Library." This suggestion was sufficient, and without suspecting why such a call was made upon him, my father went directly to the hall of the Library, and found Andrew Ellicott there. Ellicott, after a short preliminary conversation, informed him that he was about forming a company to make some surveys on the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, and offered to give him an appointment as one of his surveyors, with compensation at the rate of half a guinea a day, exclusive of travelling expenses and provisions beyond Harrisburg. This was better pay than could be had at that time, by a young man of his acquisitions, in teaching, and appeared to my father, who was not much accustomed to the manipulation of guineas, sufficiently liberal; and, pleased with the prospect of adventure, which, to the imagination of the young, is not without its charms, he accepted the offer at once. Ellicott had not anticipated so prompt a decision, and suggested to his young friend, whether he had not better take a few days to consider the subject before he made a final engagement, observing that the proposed expedition could not be accomplished without privation and exposure, and that the hardships incident to a long journey in the wilderness far beyond the limits of the white settlements, and the risk of sickness with such miserable attendance as a camp could supply, ought not to be encountered without due consideration, and that the dangers arising from the revengeful feelings of the Indians, with whom a fierce war had been recently waged, and whose peaceful dispositions could not be relied upon, were not to be disregarded. He omitted, however, to mention what, to a young man of pure mind and nice sensibilities proved, in the sequel, a source of annoyance far more intolerable than any of the subjects suggested—the profanity and ribaldry of the rude

men, of whom the major part of such a company was very sure to be composed. This objection to the service did not probably occur to a man accustomed to military life, and to the demoralizing associations of a camp ; and those which were stated were not of such weight as to induce hesitation. My father replied, that as Major Ellicott did not require an immediate answer to his proposition, he would take a few days to consult his parents, though he did not doubt they would leave him at liberty to pursue his own course, and, as to that, his mind was fully made up.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### EXPEDITION TO WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA—TEACHING IN PHILADELPHIA.

By an Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, dated the eighteenth day of April, 1795, the governor was authorized to appoint two commissioners to lay out a town to be called Erie, at Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie, within a tract reserved for public use ; one to be called Franklin at the mouth of French Creek ; one to be called Warren at the mouth of the Conewango ; and one to be called Waterford at Le Boeuf. Under the authority of that act Major Andrew Ellicott and General William Irvine were appointed Commissioners. They were men of unusual intelligence and energy, and within a month from the date of the act had completed their arrangements for the expedition. The company assembled at Harrisburg, and on my father's repairing thither, he found that it was constituted of about sixty persons, more than one-half of whom were equipped as soldiers. The northwestern frontier was in so unsettled a condition, that a military escort was deemed necessary for the protection of those who were to perform the surveys, and was expressly authorized by the act. But until he reached Harrisburg, my father was wholly ignorant of that fact. Had he known it before he left Philadelphia, he would have declined the service ; but, he considered that he was now committed to it, and that



it was too late to draw back. From Harrisburg, the company proceeded to Pittsburg, and thence to the frontier. After leaving Pittsburg, they were under no roof, except for a single night, till their return to that place late in the following fall.

A plan and draft of a town at Le Boeuf had been prepared the year before by Andrew Ellicott, and, having received the sanction of the Legislature, it had been deposited in the office of the Surveyor-general; and, nothing remained to be done there but to make the survey on the ground. That duty was entrusted to my father and another surveyor, accompanied by the requisite number of axe and chain-men, but at my father's instance without a military guard. The survey of the town-plot at Franklin was performed by another detachment. These two surveys being finished the whole company met at Erie. At that place, a large amount of work was to be done. The ground was, principally, covered with heavy timber, and it was not till the 22d day of 9th month that the extensive survey there was completed.

Some of the men under my father's command had been long accustomed to the woods, and were skillful in the use of the rifle. He began soon to practise with that implement studiously and observantly, and became an excellent marksman. His quickness and accuracy of aim, acquired in a short time, was a matter of surprise to old hunters, who did not understand how much the attainment of skill, even in their art, can be facilitated by thought and observation. He acquired a liking for the rifle which he never lost. Fifty years afterwards, when surveying in the forests of Schuylkill and Luzerne Counties, he was observed to take to it again, as to an old friend, and to handle it with the familiarity of an experienced woodsman.

My father, while engaged at Erie, was under the eyes of the Commissioners, and, by his accuracy, diligence and circumspect conduct, gained their entire confidence. Though several persons belonging to the corps had been educated among Friends, he was the only one who adhered to the dress and mode of speech peculiar to the members of the Society. His persistence in those peculiarities caused no manifestation of disrespect, either by the commissioners or their subordinates.

Being sent in command of a party, on an expeditionary service, which required several days' absence, and in which an accurate report was particularly desired, he inquired, on his return, after his report had been pronounced satisfactory, why such a duty was laid upon the youngest member of the company. The commissioners answered, that they wanted to know the precise truth, and they knew they would get it from him. He soon became a special favorite with Andrew Ellicott, who treated him with great kindness and consideration, and took pains to inform his parents of the commissioners' respect for his talents, and of their approbation of his conduct. General Irvine also showed him marked civility. The general had served with distinction in the army of the revolution, and had been a member of Congress, and of the Convention that formed the Constitution of Pennsylvania. He commanded several years at Fort Pitt, had seen a good deal of frontier life, and had been accustomed to deal with men of the rudest description. Though possessed of an excellent understanding, and of fine social qualities, and professing an unfeigned respect for religion, he was somewhat habituated to the use of profane language, and when excited, was rather profuse in the use of hard epithets. He soon perceived that profanity was disagreeable to the plain young Friend, and, in his presence, was so considerate as generally to avoid it. Occasions of irritation would, however, occur, and then his impetuous Irish temper was too strong for his self-restraint, and he would break out into volleys of oaths. After having at one time vented his feelings in some profane expletives, he turned to my father, and, though upwards of thirty years his senior, apologized for using such language. "It is an ungentlemanly and unchristian practice," said he, "I know it is, but these scoundrels can never be made to believe that I am in earnest till I thunder at them, like a heathen." "They obey me very well," returned my father, "when I happen to give them an order." "Yes, yes," replied the General, "your manner don't require swearing. I can't get along without it, but I assure you I mean to quit it when I return home. If I would quit it now, not a soul would stir when I speak."



While the commissioners were engaged in these surveys, a rumor prevailed that a body of Indians were preparing to attack the party, and no little alarm was excited. As long as it continued, my father, when night came, took his blanket and went into the woods beyond the line of the sentinels and the light of the camp-fires, and there slept. Though no less courageous than the leaders of the expedition themselves, he had no disposition to be involved in any scene of blood, or to be in the remotest degree responsible for the consequences of a hostile collision. His principles forbade the use of arms, even as a means of self-defense, and he would not, in the most critical circumstances, allow others to do for him what he would not do for himself.

When the commissioners had finished their work at Erie, they went thence to Warren, and laid out the town there. My father remained with a small detachment to complete the survey, and was the last to leave the place. It was late in the Tenth Month when the work was finished, and the weather was becoming quite cold. From Warren, the Allegheny furnished a traversable highway to Pittsburgh, and the party were desirous of availing themselves of the facilities it afforded. They, therefore, procured a boat, and, having split some rough planks or slabs from trees, which they felled for the purpose, they made a raft, on which they placed their baggage, and, attaching their raft and boat together, prepared to take to the river. Night coming on, and their tents and tent-furniture being all packed ready for an early departure the next morning, they built a fire, and, rolling themselves up in their blankets, lay down to rest, with no other shelter than a thick growth of bushes, under which each man extemporized a bed of leaves. At break of day, when they rose, the ground was white, and the bushes were loaded with snow which had fallen during the night. Soon after their embarkation, the water rose, the current became strong, and they made a rapid descent. Pittsburgh in 1795 was a rude aggregation of huts, tenanted by a semi-civilized frontier population, except that a comparatively few buildings of a better sort, had been recently erected. But the town already began to exhibit unmistakable indications of the great-

ness it has since realized, and my father was not slow to perceive them. He thought that he could not better invest the profits of his summer's work than in the purchase of a lot in the future city, and he selected one, which he deemed to be eligibly situated, and the price of which was within the limits of his means. But the commissioners, owing to some unexpected difficulty, were unable to furnish the funds necessary for the purchase, and he was disappointed in his object. He lived to see the lot, which he selected as the subject of his speculation, and which he might have made his own for less than four hundred dollars, become worth upwards of a million. Few spots have witnessed greater changes in sixty years than the ground on which the city of Pittsburgh stands.

The members of the company met at Pittsburgh on their return from their field of labor; and the hardships of a life in the woods, with its incidents of severe toil and indifferent fare, were succeeded by a period of relaxation and repose, to which, doubtless, the contrasts of their recent experience imparted peculiar zest. Their table was well supplied, the commissioners were men of social dispositions, and, like military officers generally, inclined to conviviality; and, while they remained at Pittsburgh, they drew around them the most intelligent gentlemen of the place. Among those who were frequent guests at the commissioners' table, was James Ross, who had recently commenced the practice of law at Pittsburgh, where he afterwards rose to eminence in his profession. Wine was, in those days, deemed essential to good cheer, and no social entertainment was complete without it. It was not then proscribed as a beverage, even by the most temperate. The commissioners, surveyors, and guests partook, more or less freely of such wines as their host set before them, and they sat usually a pleasant hour after the removal of the cloth, engaged in animated and entertaining conversation, to which Ellicott contributed his genial flow of instructive thought, and Irvine his strong sense and piquant wit, and, in which anecdotes of the recent revolutionary period, and of wild frontier adventure, abounded. My father, with the habits and tastes of a student, was not averse to the society of intelligent and well-informed men. He rel-



ished the intellectual entertainment, and remained at table along with the rest of the company, occasionally filling his half-emptied glass as the bottle went round; but always partaking with extreme moderation, and never to an extent to produce conscious excitement. One day, however, a young man belonging to the expedition, having indulged too freely in his morning's potations, became garrulous and foolish at dinner. James Ross was present, and my father being mortified by the conduct of his companion, watched his opportunity and slipped away, before the wine came upon the board. During the afternoon he experienced some peculiar sensations, which arrested his attention, and induced inquiry as to the cause. He soon recollected that he had omitted his accustomed glass in dining. Conscious that there might be danger in a habit, which tended to create a want, whose demand might become imperative, he resolved at once to renounce the use of wine, and thus to avoid the risks attendant upon it. To resolve and to do were with him, at that time of life and ever afterwards, practically the same thing. Having fixed in his mind that a principle of duty required the observance of a particular line of conduct, he never hesitated to pursue it through an apprehension of reproach for singularity. No such weakness could ever be attributed to him, from the period of his arrival at years of discretion to the termination of a long life.

My father returned to Philadelphia about the beginning of winter, and, on being paid for his summer's work, found that he had a balance of more than four hundred dollars, after deducting such expenses as were not paid by the commissioners. This, to a boy still under twenty, who had rarely before had command of fifty dollars at one time, was a considerable sum, and afforded him the means of buying all the books he wanted. Finding that the situation of teacher in the mathematical department of Friends' Academy on Fourth street was vacant, he applied for it. Opposition was made by one of the teachers in the Institution, who suggested that the applicant was not qualified by his learning or abilities to fill the place. The committee, therefore, having in charge the selection of a teacher, determined that he should be examined by Robert Patterson,

Professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, and by Dr. Samuel P. Griffiths, then a practicing physician of high reputation in his profession, and of very handsome acquisitions as a scholar. On calling at the Hall of the University to undergo the examination, my father found Andrew Ellicott and Robert Patterson together. Ellicott, who never omitted an opportunity of serving his young friend, gave so favorable an opinion of his talents and attainments to the Professor, that he was disposed to be easily satisfied; and after asking a few questions, and proposing for solution a few problems, which were promptly solved by different methods, and some by novel expedients, extemporized for the occasion, he wrote a certificate and handed it unsealed to my father. The appointment was made without further difficulty. The school was soon after opened. William Smith, a young man of bright parts, and an admirable student, was his first scholar. Another came on the second day. These were all that appeared for a week. After that the school filled rapidly, and before the lapse of a year, my father's room was inconveniently crowded, and he was obliged to reject the applications of many who desired to avail themselves of the benefit of his instructions.

He continued to teach at the Friends' Academy till the spring of 1799, with increasing reputation and unvarying success. But the yellow fever having prevailed in Philadelphia during the summers of 1797 and 8, his school was suspended in consequence of that alarming visitation, for some months after its appearance in each year, till the first severe frost gave to the dispersed citizens, assurances of safety in returning to their homes, and resuming their usual occupations. Discouraged by these interruptions, and being about to be married, he determined to relinquish teaching and to go to farming. He, therefore, took a lease of his father's farm at Radnor, and about the First of Fourth Month closed his school. He had an interesting company of pupils, and they parted with mutual regret. When the time for separation arrived, after a few minutes passed in profound silence, he delivered them a short address, in which he expressed his grief that he should no longer be able to assist them in their efforts to prepare themselves for



future usefulness; that he had been greatly interested in the improvement of their minds, and gratified with their deportment, and hoped that the time they had spent together would be found to have been profitably occupied; and that it would exert a favorable influence on their characters and lives; that, although the relation which they had sustained to him, in his capacity of instructor was about to be dissolved, he trusted that the tie which connected them as friends, would long remain; and he begged them to remember that each would have his duties personally assigned and set before him, and, if attended to, would be made clearly manifest; and that the fruition of all that was worth living for in the world would depend upon the faithful performance of those duties. A valued friend, Abraham L. Pennock, present on the occasion, in recalling the scene sixty years afterwards, said that it was particularly affecting, and, that not a few present were moved to tears.

My father's first experiment in the teaching of a mathematical school was in every respect a decided success, except as to profit; and that exception was owing to the periodical interruption in the usual good health of the city. Notwithstanding his youth, he experienced no difficulty in maintaining proper order, without resorting to corporal punishment, although the prevalent opinion was strongly in favor of an adherence to the old and severe modes of discipline. He doubted the necessity or propriety of the use of the rod in higher than a primary school in any case; and his repugnance to it was such, that he determined rather than resort to it, to adopt the alternative of dismissal. His manner was always firm and dignified, and he impressed his pupils with respect for his good opinion as well as for his talents and attainments; and they stood more in awe of his frown than they would of another man's flogging. His habitual and conscientious accuracy and reverence for truth, exercised a wholesome influence over the minds of his pupils, and availed more to suppress the vice of lying than the gravest moral lectures. His habit was to confide implicitly in the statements of his boys, when he did not know them to be untrue, and the expression of that confidence was

an irresistible appeal to their honor against its abuse. A teacher of another school kept in the same house, entered his room one day in a violent passion, and cried out, "One of thy boys, Enoch, just now threw a brick into my door." "Come, take a seat," said my father, calmly, "and let me know how it was. Art thou sure it was one of my boys?" "I don't know who else it could have been," answered the enraged teacher. "Well," observed my father, "I do not think any one in this school could have done it. I know of no one here capable of such mischief. At all events, there is no one here capable of falsehood; and now, judge for thyself." He then interrogated the pupils as to the fact, and they all gave a prompt, positive and earnest denial. My father then assured the teacher that the offender was not there. The other immediately withdrew, still angry, and, returning in a few minutes, heaved a brick into the middle of the room, and calling out—"There's your brick," again withdrew. A quiet remark, attributing the impropriety into which his friend had been betrayed, to a momentary loss of temper, repressed the excitement which the outrage tended to produce. My father's word was regarded as verity by his pupils, on all points of difficulty in science. He never assumed to know anything of which he was ignorant, and whenever he answered an inquiry, he accompanied the answer with such explanations as satisfied the curiosity of the inquirer. His knowledge, whatever it was, was complete as far as it went; and owing to that fact, he obtained credit for more than he actually possessed. He had, however, all that was needed by his position, and he daily added something to his stock.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### MARRIAGE—WESTTOWN.

In the year 1798, Emmor Kimber, who was teaching Friends' School in Pine St., Philadelphia, happening to meet my father in the street, invited him to call some evening at his house, and added that his wife's sister Alice, from New Garden, was then one

of his family, and that it was quite worth while to make her acquaintance. The invitation was accepted and my father met for the first time the woman who was to be his future wife. She was then assisting her brother-in-law in his school, in place of an elder sister, Hannah, who had lately accepted an appointment by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia as a missionary to certain Indians under the care of Friends, and had gone to enter on her new duties in the wilderness. The first visit was soon followed by a second, and subsequently by others, and after the temporary engagement in the school was fulfilled, his frequent journeys to New Garden indicated that she had become an object of growing interest, and that his purpose was serious. In the course of a few months an engagement of marriage took place, and they were married on the 9th of the Fifth Month, 1799.

Alice Jackson was the sixth daughter of Isaac Jackson of New Garden, Chester county, Pennsylvania, a man of considerable prominence among the Friends, and a well-known associate of Anthony Benezet, Nicholas Waln, Jacob Lindley and others, in a successful effort to make the holding of slaves an offence against the order and discipline of the Society. The labors, which those Friends underwent in that cause, are mentioned by John G. Whittier, with due appreciation in his preface to the last edition of the *Journal of John Woolman*. Isaac Jackson continued up to the last day of his life, to be an earnest advocate of emancipation ; and he was the means of rescuing not a few of the colored population from slavery. His house was for a number of years a station on the under-ground way, by which many escaped from a condition of servitude. In his day, negroes were accustomed to be carried off by kidnappers from the southern counties of Pennsylvania, and Chester county was not exempt from this nefarious practice. He and Jacob Lindley were particularly active in their endeavors to break up the kidnapping trade ; and by their energy, courage and perseverance, they rendered the neighborhood in which they lived, poor hunting-ground for pretended fugitives from labor.

Alice Jackson, at the time of her marriage, had not quite



completed her twentieth year. Those, who knew her at that period of her life, speak of her in terms of high admiration. Her person was tall, and though somewhat slight was symmetrical. Her carriage was easy and graceful, and she had an air of unconscious stateliness, to which perhaps a high and broad forehead, indicative of unusual intellectual power, may have contributed. Her dress, though sufficiently plain to satisfy the traditional fastidiousness of the sect to which she was attached, as well by principle and choice as by hereditary right, was habitually tasteful and even elegant. Her glossy black hair was worn as simply as possible, and adorned a high and well-formed head. With a ready wit, a placid temper and a constant flow of animal spirits, accompanied, however, with a mild dignity, which, while it forbade undue familiarity, abated nothing of the confidence and regard which were inspired by the expressive sweetness of her countenance, and the unaffected amiability of her demeanor, she was the delight of every circle into which she entered, and was equally welcome to the society of the young and the old, the grave and the gay. The tone of her conversation was animated and sprightly, chastened by the meekness and charity becoming the Christian, and she was too kindly considerate of the feelings of others to suffer herself to be betrayed by levity or thoughtlessness into speaking a word that would wound the most sensitive nature, or rattle in any bosom. To her attractive qualities, she added many solid endowments, which qualified her for any station in life which she could expect to occupy. It is no subject of surprise, that the admiration of her affianced husband was unbounded, and that his anticipations of happiness were equalled only by the strength and earnestness of his affection.

Alice Jackson was fortunate in her parents; and her life, to the time of her marriage, was passed for the most part under the roof of her father where the practice of his liberal hospitality afforded her social advantages, unusual in farmers' families. Her education was the best then afforded by neighboring schools, and as she acquired with great facility, she became a good English scholar. The domestic habits of the family were industrious, judged even by the standard which

regulated the economy of a Pennsylvania farmer's household at the end of the last century. The wife and daughters usually made the linen and woolen fabrics for the use of all the members of the family. The spinning-wheels were of course kept briskly in motion—the flax-wheel during the winter months, and woolen-wheels during the summer. The daughters had their regular daily tasks assigned them, yet, in such manner as with diligence in performing them, left time for reading, visiting and receiving company. The books to which they had access, if not numerous, supplied wholesome, mental nutriment, and contained nothing that would injure the morals or vitiate the taste of the reader. While they included the best of the writings of Barclay and Penn, with many Friends' Journals of less value, except as incitements to pious reflections and feelings, they also included works of the highest reputation in English literature, but no novels of any grade. Works of fiction, with which *Paradise Lost* and Pope's Translation of Homer were not classed, were rigorously excluded from the family library, being, according to the approved nomenclature of Friends, "pernicious." Addison, Young, Grey, Thomson and Cowper were among her favorite authors. She delighted particularly in *The Task*, and her literary taste was formed mainly on similar models.

Immediately after their marriage, Enoch and Alice Lewis entered upon house-keeping at the family mansion of his father at Radnor, and they continued to reside there till about the 1st of the Tenth Month, 1799. Westtown Boarding-school, an institution established by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, had been opened for the reception of students in the spring of that year! The object of the school was to enable members of the Society to afford their children and wards, means of a literary education superior to that which could be acquired at other schools, generally accessible to persons of their religious persuasion; and at the same time to surround them by influences favorable to the inculcation of the peculiar principles of Friends, and to the promotion of religion and virtue. As far back as 1769, a school of the kind had been in contemplation. At that time, some essay was made towards



its establishment, and a course of study proposed, embracing the elements of a good English education, and also the Latin, Greek and French languages. Owing to the political agitation in which the country was then involved, and the struggle for independence which soon followed, the plan was not immediately carried into execution. The boarding school at Westtown was the result of this movement. For this Institution, a competent teacher of mathematics was much wanted. There was no Friends' school within the limits of the Yearly Meeting, where more than the mere rudiments of mathematical science were taught, and the value of that kind of learning was but little appreciated by most of the leading minds of the Society. Some of the committee, to which was entrusted the duty of procuring teachers, were anxious that the services of a person of superior attainments should be engaged for the mathematical department, but among the applicants for the post, they found none who seemed to possess the desired qualifications. Under such circumstances, it was suggested that Enoch Lewis might be willing to accept the appointment of teacher, and he was accordingly addressed by letter and offered the vacant place. The offer came to him after he had become interested in his new pursuit. The few months in which he had been engaged in it, had flowed on so happily—in energetic effort by day and in quiet evenings employed in reading, in company with his wife, works of authors in which they were equally interested—that it was with reluctance he consented to exchange the yeoman for the teacher, and to surrender the simple pleasure of agriculture for the sphere of superior usefulness to which he was called. He, however, after talking over the subject with his wife, and duly considering her suggestions as to the path of duty that thus seemed to open before them, accepted the offer, sold off whatever he had of stock and farming implements, surrendered his lease, and in a few weeks was regularly installed as mathematical teacher in the new institution.

Among the advantages which were expected from the seminary, and announced by the Yearly Meeting committee that superintended its operations, that of affording instruction to

young persons intending to become teachers, held a prominent place. In conformity with this expectation, a number of youths of both sexes, who had nearly attained majority, was enrolled among the pupils. The small amount of mathematical learning then current in the Society, seemed to render it necessary that the standard of qualification for teaching the science, should be raised. To this object the attention of the new teacher was immediately directed. The best informed of the committee, among whom Philip Price was one of the most intelligent and enlightened, cordially coöperated with him ; but there was not wanting among the members those who deemed all learning beyond reading, writing, and sufficient arithmetic to enable the learner to compute interest on money, simple or compound, and to keep accounts, as superfluous, and of doubtful propriety.

A short time after the school at Westtown was opened, it was visited by an English Friend, who was represented as a member of the committee having charge of the Ackworth School, which had been for some twenty years in successful operation in England. From the complacent manner in which he spoke of that Institution, it was manifest that he regarded it as a model, perfect in all its parts. Being asked whether mathematics were taught at Ackworth, he answered, "No, they confine themselves there to matters more useful." An inquiry respecting Latin and Greek was answered in the same way. I well remember being present at a conversation between an aged Friend and my father, at the house of the latter, when I was quite a child, in which the same ideas as to the useful seemed to predominate in the mind of the former. "I suppose," said the Friend, "thou wilt educate thy children according to thy own views, and spoil them for farmers, so that they must need be school-masters, or doctors, or lawyers, or something of that kind above common folks." "I intend," answered my father, "to educate them as well as I can afford, so that when they arrive at years of discretion, they may not be prevented by their lack of knowledge, from selecting such employment as may be suited to their tastes and inclinations. If then they choose to be farmers, I don't think they will turn

a furrow less skillfully than if they could do nothing else, and I am unable to see how the cultivation of their minds will make them worse men or women."

This prejudice against the acquisition of learning in its higher branches was not the prevailing sentiment in the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. It was, however, sufficiently strong to prevent instruction in Latin and Greek at Westtown for some years after the foundation of the Institution. Although the cultivation of the ancient languages was within the purview of the Yearly Meeting in 1769, when the establishment of a boarding school was first contemplated, no provision was made for instruction in those languages, when the school was inaugurated in 1799. Repeated propositions for employing a teacher of Latin and Greek met with so much opposition that the project was abandoned. My father, however, persevered in his purpose to procure their introduction into the school, and, in conjunction with Philip Price, by their joint influence, finally succeeded. This was after my father had ceased to be teacher, and had been made one of the committee of the Yearly Meeting having charge of the school.

Besides attending to the ordinary duties of his proper department, my father devoted a part of each day to the instruction of such of the female pupils as were too far advanced for their regular teacher; and he also gave private lessons to a young woman who had been appointed to teach arithmetic, till she became qualified to take charge of her own classes. In methods of discipline, my father was obliged to conform to the practice deemed eligible by the Superintendent and corps of teachers. Ninety boys of all ages, from twelve to twenty years of age, were not to be governed without the exercise of magisterial authority, more or less decisive. Flagellation was common in all the schools, and Westtown, which had the ordinary proportion of unruly spirits, whose respect to order was not exemplary, followed the general rule. In No. 22 there was no difficulty. My father had no need to resort to corporal punishment to compel obedience. A word or a look from him sufficed to prevent disorder. But he was sometimes called upon to assist other teachers, when serious disturbances oc-

curred, and for advice when the course of treatment was not obvious. An instance is related by one who was a witness. The boys were accustomed to assemble in the long gallery before retiring for the night, and a roll containing the names of the boys was called. Each boy was expected to answer to his name, and immediately to withdraw, and to go straight to the dormitory where they all slept. One night several were absent on an errand of mischief, understood by the others, and when the names of the absentees were called, the ordinary response of "here," was given by some one present. Owing to the inattention of the teacher, the stratagem succeeded. This was fun for the boys, and, to keep it going, the next evening when the roll was called several answered to each name, and, as the call proceeded, the responses became more numerous, until a universal roar followed the announcement of each name. Other teachers were sent for, but nothing could be done. The teachers were discomfited, the boys triumphant, and they were finally dismissed to their dormitory, the roll call being suspended. On the evening following, the attempt to call the roll was frustrated in the same way, amidst peals of laughter, which resounded from all sides of the gallery. After several admonitory addresses, and vain efforts to proceed in order, my father, who had gone to his home some two hundred yards distant, was sent for. The moment he entered the gallery the uproar ceased. On being informed of what had happened, he took the matter into his own hands, and directed that all present should sit in perfect silence, and then after a long pause, he ordered each boy to answer as his name was called, and to rise and leave the gallery. The call began and proceeded with due regularity for a time, till, at length, some two or three ventured on an attempt to renew their sport by answering, though somewhat sheepishly, on a name being called. My father, thereupon, directed the call to be suspended, and, rising, calmly reproved the spirit of insubordination that had been manifested, infecting, as appeared, the whole school; and he stated that if any boy answered beside the one called, the whole company present in the gallery should remain there till morning. All knew that this was no empty



threat, and when, after a protracted silence, he directed the calling of the roll to be resumed, the disposition to disorder seemed to have disappeared, and there was no further difficulty. His talent for government was frequently put to a severe test, but he never failed to maintain his authority without resorting to harsh measures. This was, probably, owing as much to the respect inspired by his talents and acquirements, as to the steadiness and firmness of his demeanor. In one instance, a conference was held by the Superintendent and teachers to determine what should be done with a boy who was supposed to be incorrigible. He had been repeatedly and severely punished. Confinement and the rod had been tried without effect. It was, at length, proposed to send him home to his parents, as one whom no discipline could reduce to submission. My father, who knew nothing of him, learning that he was a boy of honorable feeling and manly and generous temper, though of sturdy and indomitable will, offered to take him to No. 22, where he would be under his own eye, and try what he could do with him. The offer was gladly acceded to, and my father, in assuming charge of him, informed him that he intended to trust him not only to observe an orderly deportment himself, but to assist him in maintaining the discipline of the school by merely discouraging disorder in others, without acting as tale-bearer or informer. The confidence reposed in him brought about the desired result. The boy soon became as remarkable for the propriety of his behavior as he had previously been for his irrepressible spirit of misrule. All he needed was a treatment suited to his natural dispositions.

My father was averse to corporal punishment, and avoided it in all cases in which it did not seem to be imperatively demanded by existing regulations. He would have greatly preferred to dismiss all pupils of such refractory tempers as required to be subdued by the application of the birch, as he entertained but little hope of the permanent amendment of any youth who could not be reformed by treatment better suited to an intellectual and moral being, than to an ox or an ass.

In teaching, he was careful to impress on the minds of the



pupils the principles on which every process depended, so as to enable them to comprehend the rationale of every solution, rather than the mere method by which it was attained. The pupil was required to think, to reason, and to follow, link by link, a chain of ratiocination leading to deductions of indubitable certainty. Whatever was intricate to the learner he endeavored to simplify, and whatever was obscure to render clear, and he desired not to allow a single step to be taken in advance, till preparation was made for it by a full comprehension of every proposition involved in the inquiry. He was singularly perspicuous in his demonstrations, and left no difficulty in the way of the student unexplained, employing sometimes one mode and sometimes another, according to the capacity of the individual upon whom his labor was bestowed. He was never weary of giving instruction, and took especial delight in assisting the efforts of those of bright parts and studious dispositions. There was no hour, however unseasonable, that he was not accessible where a mathematical question was to be resolved or an intricate problem elucidated. He was often, in the early days of the school, called upon at his meals, and in his periods of study or relaxation, and always promptly and, at once, answered the call and satisfied the inquirer.

Though much of his time was occupied by the cares of the school, he was able by an economical use and careful distribution of it, to increase his scientific knowledge. He early formed the habit of study without the aid of books, and when walking or riding abroad, usually worked mentally on some subject which happened at the time to interest him. A novel and valuable demonstration, which afterwards appeared in a mathematical work, compiled by John Gummere, one of his pupils, and which is still the best demonstration of a practical rule in surveying extant, was the result of an evening's cogitation on horseback, on his way home from a Monthly Meeting at Concord. Other demonstrations, which subsequently he gave to the world in his published treatises, were hit upon and wrought out in a similar manner.

Soon after the opening of the school at Westtown, the boys were arranged into three classes, called senior, rotation and

junior. The senior class was taught wholly by my father in room No. 22. The rotation class was under his instruction in his room one week in every two. With the junior class he had nothing to do during the hours for study and recitation. The pupils in the junior were advanced to the rotation, and from the rotation to the senior class as fast as their attainments justified promotion. All were anxious to get into No. 22, where they were sure of having an instructor who perfectly understood his business, and their anxiety was sometimes displayed in a manner peculiarly well marked. John Forsythe, one of the teachers, was a critical student of English grammar, which he made his specialty, and taught with success, but he did not profess any depth of culture in abstract science. An aged gentleman, who was a member of the rotation class of 1802, remarked that the preference of the boys for the tuition they received from "Master Lewis," was fully justified. "He was," said he, "incomparably the most accomplished teacher in the Institution. He was never at a loss, and explained with great facility and clearness every proposition. I remember one day being much puzzled with some intricate problem, and applied during the recess of the school to one of the other teachers. He undertook to explain, but did not succeed to my satisfaction, and admitted that the explanation was hard to be understood. I was discouraged, and determined that if mathematical teachers were themselves unable to solve important problems without obvious labor and pains, and without full confidence in the correctness of the result, or ability to make themselves intelligible, I would pursue the study no further. I thought that time spent on an inexplicable science would be thrown away. I concluded, however, before giving up mathematics altogether, that I would call on Enoch Lewis, and see whether he could give me any better satisfaction than I had already derived from his colleague. I did so, and he, at once, in a very simple and familiar way, removed my difficulty, and by a process so clear and convincing that I was much charmed by it, and became inspired with a new love for that which I had just before determined to abandon as valueless." It is proper to add, that this gentleman's love for mathematical lore did not



again grow cool, and that he became a superior teacher and thorough mathematician.

In a family of upwards of two hundred persons, it often happened that cases of sickness occurred in which it was a question, whether to send for the regular physician, who lived four miles distant, or to administer the treatment suggested by the nurse of the Institution. In such cases, though it was out of his sphere, my father was sometimes called upon for his opinion. While he could not well refuse his good offices on such occasions, he felt that more confidence was reposed in his judgment than properly belonged to it. In order to become qualified to answer such calls intelligently, he procured books, and entered on a course of medical reading, which, aided by almost daily observation, enabled him to make what was deemed a trustworthy diagnosis, so far as related to the character of the ordinary prevailing diseases. The theory of Sydenham and Rush was then in vogue in the medical profession of Pennsylvania, and the lancet was the common resort in all cases in which inflammatory action was apparent; and it was not difficult to ascertain, with the knowledge he possessed, when the doctors would advise blood-letting. The result was, that the attending physician, after a few interviews with my father, turned over to him the duty of bleeding in the school-family, to be administered according to his discretion; and this led to his becoming the bleeder, and, subsequently, the tooth-drawer, not only for the school, but, also, for the neighborhood. As he did not profess to be either dentist or physician, he would accept no fees for his services in this sort of practice, which he would rather have avoided, had it not been in a measure thrust upon him. The confidence of superintendent, teachers, and pupils in his capacity and intelligence, was such as made it difficult to shun responsibilities beyond his province as teacher, without appearing to be averse to advise in matters which no one would believe he did not understand. Such odds and ends of business, mainly for others, as he could not perform during other working days, were put off until the last afternoon of the week, when he was free from engagements in the school. The consequence was, that that afternoon became

the busiest time he had. "My Seventh-day afternoons," he used to say, "are like a garret in a large house, not appropriated to anything in particular, it soon becomes the general depository of all lumber, and the fullest room in the house." It may be proper to remark that in the latter part of the last century and the beginning of this, there was this reason for the free use of the lancet, that diseases were generally of a more inflammatory character than now. Dr. Rush's treatment of the yellow fever, by bleeding and purging, had been exceedingly successful. A mode of practice which would now be absurd, was not improper eighty or ninety years ago.

My father had always an evident liking for boys of talent, though among his pupils he was extremely careful to permit no manifestation of the least feeling of partiality to escape him; but he would with a peculiar zest and sparkle in his keen, hazel eye, follow the demonstrations of a pupil who comprehended thoroughly the subject of his lesson; and he took especial delight in assisting the labors of such a pupil, and in inspiring him with the same love of science that animated his own breast. To the dull and unapprehensive he was assiduous to perform his whole duty, though his patience was sometimes tasked to the utmost point of endurance, in his efforts to make them understand subjects scarcely within their comprehension. His plan was, not to teach the mathematics in classes, for by such method he could not be assured that each proposition would be fully mastered before advancing to the next, but to instruct the pupils separately, and to bestow upon every individual the necessary time and attention. "I am willing to do all I can," he would sometimes say to my mother, after a day of weary work, "but some good people seem to expect too much of me. I cannot find their children the brains, which nature has denied them." Yet he never reproached one for being dull, or even intimated that he thought him so, but without uttering a word to discourage his efforts, allowed him to discover his own deficiencies after a fair trial of his powers.

Upwards of seven years were spent at Westtown, and agreeably and profitably spent. Apart from his proportion of care



in administering the discipline of the school, he was attached to his business and found in its prosecution a healthy and pleasant exercise of his mind. Though his time during the greater part of every day was fully occupied in teaching, he, still by an economical use of spare minutes, was enabled to acquire considerable information not connected with his favorite science. When in Philadelphia, he was accustomed to deliver familiar lectures to his pupils on Natural Philosophy and Chemistry and to exhibit experiments in their presence; and he continued with riper knowledge and experience, the same practice at Westtown.

He was successful in inspiring a taste for mathematical learning and in promoting its cultivation to an extent previously unknown in that region. A number of young men, who afterwards acquired great reputation as teachers, were among his pupils, and caught the ardor with which they prosecuted the studies that qualified them for subsequent usefulness from the animated prelections of my father at the master's desk in No. 22. Among them were John Gummere, Joshua Hoopes, John Bullock, Eli and Samuel Hilles, Joseph Roberts, Israel Janney, and several others. Not many years elapsed before a total change was wrought in the Society of Friends, as to the acquaintance of its members with this useful branch of science. In 1799, my father was the only person within the limits of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, who could be procured to fill the office of teacher of a mathematical school. For the last quarter of a century there is no district of country in the world that is more fully supplied with mathematical learning than that embraced by those very limits. But the members of the Society of Friends are not the only persons that have profited by the thoroughness of Westtown instruction. The seed then sown germinated and yielded largely. The benefits of solid education became widely diffused. Of students, who matriculate yearly at Yale and other Eastern colleges, none are so thoroughly instructed in mathematics as those who come from Pennsylvania. The influence of the Westtown School on education in Chester and Delaware counties has been very decided. A better informed population



exists no where on this continent than in those counties. Within a radius of fifteen miles, taking Westtown as a center, there are now the two colleges of Swarthmore and Haverford, and the West Chester State Normal School—public institutions affording instruction in ancient and modern literature and in abstract and natural sciences to upwards of seven-hundred pupils; besides several large and well-sustained boarding-schools of excellent reputation.

In one respect the Westtown life of my father was blessed beyond the common lot. His home was more than an usually happy one. It exhibited, not merely the reign of harmony and peace—where a philosophical student of nature or science might find a convenient seclusion for his meditations; but it was warmed and brightened by the glow of my mother's kindly sympathy, and gladdened by her cheerful spirit and enlivening conversation, making the domestic fireside a scene of uninterrupted enjoyment. Her social qualities and disposition drew around her troops of loving and intelligent friends, in whose society many hours were passed in agreeable and profitable communion. Her tastes were refined and elegant, and all her household arrangements were made with such observance of effect as always to exhibit an air of propriety and grace; and though a narrow income was the only source of supply, nothing ever seemed to be wanting. She did not read many books, but such as she did read, she read well, and made whatever they contained her own, so that she could quote them with accuracy when ever occasion offered. Her judgment was exact and discriminating, and she always decided for herself and was not to be misled by the authority of great names. One, who knew her well, stated that no fugitive verses of Wordsworth, Campbell or Scott could meet her eye in a newspaper, though published anonymously, without her detecting at once the hand of a master; and he well recollects with what admiration she read "The Battle of Hohen-Linden," which first went the round of American periodicals without the author's name. In the long winter evenings, my father was accustomed to spend several hours at home, in reading aloud such works as he was interested in, and he never failed to find my mother an atten-

tive listener whose comments were often highly suggestive and instructive. Her temper was singularly mild and equable. If she ever experienced the sensation of anger, no one ever perceived an indication of it. Even when she deemed reproof necessary, her manner of administering it had so much of kindness and tenderness about it, so much of compassionate interest and sweet persuasion of voice and manner, and such unaffected regret that there should be cause for it that it never failed to exert a softening and salutary influence, and impress the heart to which it was addressed. She mingled freely with the teachers and elder pupils of the female school, to many of whom she became affectionately attached; and she formed among them some friendships which continued to strengthen to the end of her life, and the memory of which, after more than half a century, is precious to the survivors. An enthusiastic lover of nature she used to enjoy, with peculiar relish, short drives for an hour in the late afternoons in summer about the beautiful country that surrounds the school establishment; and my father was often lured away from his studies by an invitation to such little excursions; and although he was too severe a votary of abstract science to be particularly interested in natural scenery, there was no common care he would not put aside when the invitation came. The single horse was then hastily harnessed, and the little carriage brought out, the children stowed in, baby and all, or in their stead, a seat was offered to some stranger, visitor or sick pupil at the school, who was never to be forgotten when there was health to be hoped for in the fanning of the evening breeze. These little rides are yet remembered, and how the brows of my father, whose aspect was usually grave and perhaps somewhat austere, would relax and the serious school-master and student glide into the animated, genial and cheerful companion.

My father, unlike most young men, had no wild oats to sow. Those that remember him the longest, bear uniform testimony to the gravity of his demeanor, and the innocence and purity of his life. He was brought up by his parents as a Friend, and from the time he left his father's house, though emancipated at a very early age from parental control, he never



manifested the least disposition to walk in any other way than that which the straightest of the sect would approve. In dress and address he was in youth as in mature age, a thoroughly consistent member of the Society. He never perpetrated the grammatical solecisms in vogue among the Friends of the Middle States, especially the younger members, substituting "thee" for "thou," and thus introducing an inaccurate and awkward peculiarity of phrase, in place of the beautiful simplicity and accuracy, recommended and practiced by the founders of the Society; nor did he ever compromise with the fashionable world, by even a distant approach to the prevailing mode in the cut or tie of an article of clothing. No one noticed at any period a marked change in his demeanor, evincing a new era in his spiritual life, nor, as he never spoke of his religious experience, can we venture to affirm when first he set his face Zionward, with full purpose of heart. But as early as the date of his marriage, he was regarded as a young man of undoubted piety, and his associates were of a kind that exhibited a love of Christian fellowship. Before he left Radnor in 1799, he was appointed clerk of the Radnor Preparative Meeting, and from that time he took an active interest in the welfare of the Society, and served in various appointments. After his removal to Westtown, his engagements in the school and his interest in scientific inquiries, did not prevent him from performing his full share of duty in the management of the concerns of the Preparative Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to which he was attached; and in 1804 he became assistant clerk of Concord Monthly Meeting, and continued to act in that capacity for several years. My mother was not a less interested member of the Society than her husband. There was a perfect agreement between them as to doctrinal truths, and full sympathy in their religious opinions. She early sought that peace which the world cannot give, and was enabled to take up the cross and dedicate herself unreservedly to the service of the Redeemer. Obedient to a sense of duty and inspired by Christian love, which mellowed her spirit and kindled holy desires for the happiness of others, she began to speak in public meetings for worship early in the year 1805. Her addresses at first were

full of unction, and were delivered with a force and propriety of expression and sweetness of manner, that awoke the interest and touched the sensibilities of the hearer. Her fluency was remarkable. She never paused for a word or failed to select the best. I have heard my father, who was a good judge of language, say repeatedly, that he never knew her to utter a sentence that he thought he could improve; "yet," said he, "her pen was not always as faithful to her taste and her judgment as her tongue, for I could detect blemishes in her written composition, and occasionally, select a better word than she had adopted." Her beautiful gift was exercised with meekness and diffidence, and, being in no haste to use it but only in submission to a will superior to her own, she grew in it, and she soon became a well approved and acceptable minister, and within a short period, was recommended according to the usages of the Society.

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## CHAPTER V.

### LIFE IN NEW GARDEN.

Before my father's removal from Philadelphia, he became deeply interested in the subject of slavery, and joined a society, which, though originally constituted for literary purposes, soon entered upon the discussion of subjects relating immediately or remotely to that institution, and at length assumed the character of an abolition society. Of this society, Samuel Bettle, Thomas Biddle, and other young men of mark, became members, and much ability was sometimes displayed in the debates. It was here that Samuel Bettle, then a young man of twenty, first displayed his remarkable talent for speaking, which, added to other qualifications, made him eminent as a minister in after life. My father spoke occasionally, and always in a style closely and severely argumentative. Nature had not bestowed on him the gift of eloquence, and he knew it, and, therefore, never attempted to play the orator, but what-



ever he studied he thoroughly understood, and could explain with simplicity and clearness. In this association he found his pen to serve him better than his tongue ; and as the views of the members gradually enlarged, and from the discussion of theoretical points turned to practical action, he became more deeply interested in the objects sought to be accomplished. One of these was to obtain, by correspondence with slaveholders, detailed statements of the evils of the system of slavery, such as they had observed in their own experience, and were willing to make for the information of the public. It was supposed that there might thus be collected from sources that would not be suspected of exaggeration against the evils to be exposed, a mass of testimony that would be overwhelming, and it was contemplated to make the correspondence public, when it could be done with striking effect. My father entered zealously into this specious project. The effort resulted in disappointment. Some valuable communications were received, but the information conveyed was much less considerable than was anticipated, and the purpose of publication was abandoned. My father's instinctive abhorrence of slavery was not mitigated by this little piece of experience. He began to consider the subject with more attention, and to study it in its economical and social relations, and he never afterwards ceased to feel a deep interest in every movement that tended to restore the oppressed race to the enjoyment of its inalienable rights. After his removal to Westtown, he had no further connection with any association, whose express object was the abolition of slavery ; but at that period the influence of the whole body of Friends was actively exerted against the institution, and every Monthly Meeting was practically an abolition society, so that when occasion required the active coöperation of others for any duty due to the cause of emancipation, residing, as he did, in a neighborhood composed chiefly of Friends, he had ready coadjutors ever within call. He was recognized by the blacks as one especially friendly to their interests, and his house was a kind of caravansary for fugitives from the land of shackles, on their pilgrimage in quest of freedom ; and in case of any exigency in which assistance was required, in



consequence of a successful slave hunt in the vicinity, he was usually the first that was called upon. One instance of the fortunate result of a timely interference between a fugitive and his claimant may be related. In 1803 he was roused from his bed by the wife of a very respectable colored man, living within less than a mile of Westtown School, and informed that her husband had been seized by slave-catchers, and was about to be taken before a justice at West Chester. He immediately arose, mounted his horse, and calling on a neighbor to accompany him, pursued them. On reaching the justice's, the captured negro and his captors were already there. On the examination, the legal rights of the claimant were established beyond dispute, and a negotiation for the purchase of the slave was immediately instituted. It resulted in his purchase for something over four hundred dollars, to be paid during the ensuing day. A subscription was immediately started to raise the necessary funds. My father put his name down for a liberal sum. His example was well followed, and upwards of a hundred dollars were raised in a few hours. The residue of the purchase money, some three hundred dollars, was advanced by my father, on the security only of the negro's bond, who was then liberated and permitted to return to his home. My father's yearly salary was but five hundred dollars, and the loss of three hundred dollars would have subjected him to inconvenience; but for the sake of the object, he did not hesitate to incur the risk. The negro was industrious, and faithful to his engagement, and in due time, paying in small sums as he was able, discharged the obligation. He afterwards acquired some land, erected upon it a house and small barn and lived comfortably many years, exhibiting an example of moral propriety that gained him general esteem. My mother who sympathized fully with my father in efforts of this character, was desirous of sharing with him any sacrifices which they caused, and would frequently suggest her wish to dispense with some luxury or indulgence as a mode of compensation.

In 1806, the health of Hannah Jackson, my mother's mother, became seriously affected, and my mother, on being informed of it, hastened to visit her and remained with her several

weeks. On the 5th of the Fifth Month, 1806, my grand-mother died. She had not quite completed her sixty-fifth year, and her health had been generally such as promised a longer life. Of the eleven children that survived her, the larger number were present at her departure. Few have lived in the world who seemed to occupy less space in it during life, or who in a humble sphere left so great a void by her death. Her meek and kindly spirit seemed to have no mission but to make all around her happy. Her husband survived her less than fourteen months. He died on the 27th of the Sixth Month, 1807, aged seventy-three years and twenty-five days. He was highly respected for his intelligence and probity, and though fond of society and profuse in his hospitality, he was always diligent in business and scrupulous to avoid the loss of any time that could be usefully employed. He had considerable conversational powers, and was an interesting and agreeable companion. His mind was naturally strong and he was decided in his opinions and not less so in his prejudices; but he was, withal, charitable in his feelings. His benevolence was a marked trait in his character, and was never appealed to in vain. He was exceedingly skillful and ingenious as an artisan, and made, himself, the greater part of the tools and implements he needed. He had two shops—one suited for blacksmith's and one for clock-maker's work, and when he could do nothing out of doors, employed himself in one or the other in some handicraft labor. His judgment was frequently called in requisition, in the settlement of disputes as an arbitrator. He had a strong aversion to litigation and a consistent dislike of the legal profession which he considered fruitful of chicanery rather than of justice. Having been informed by a young friend that he was about to enter upon the study of the law, with the view of being a lawyer, "I am sorry for it," said the old man, "I would rather hear of thy learning to be a chimney-sweep." He did not then foresee the future of his own family.

On the 1st of the Third Month, 1808, Evan Lewis, my grand-father, died at the age of sixty-eight. My father was frequently with him, near the close of his life, and his company and sympathy were refreshing to the spirit of his dying parent.



The father had always been kind and indulgent, and the son had never been wanting in any point of duty or affection. The most unreserved confidence had subsisted between them, and their intercourse was more like that common with brothers than such as usually obtains between the young and the aged, whatever may be their natural relation. It was consolatory to my father, in his affliction by the bereavement, to know that his revered parent had no solicitude for the future, but contemplated his expected change with a hope which he was assured was not delusive. In his will, my grand-father made a distribution of his estate amongst his children, which, as my father knew, was intended to be equal. His son Thomas had been assisted to purchase a farm in Berks county, and a legacy was left him which, with what he had previously received, was supposed to be equal to the value of the land devised to each of his other sons. But the land proved to be more valuable when the test of an actual sale was applied than the testator had supposed. My father, aware that the inequality was not intended, refused to profit by it, and made his brother's share equal to his own. That the law made the provisions of the will the rule of distribution, did not affect the question in his mind as to what was required of him in equity and conscience.

After the decease of my grand-father, Isaac Jackson, in 1807, his farm of two hundred and thirty acres was divided into three parts, and my father became the purchaser of one hundred and five acres, and the old mansion-house and out-buildings. Early in the spring of 1808, he resigned his situation as teacher at Westtown, and about the 1st of the Fourth Month removed to New Garden, and took possession of his purchase. His design was to establish a boarding school for the instruction of a select company of sixteen young men, in pure and mixed mathematics; and he made the necessary preparations for that purpose, by enlarging the dwelling house to double its original size, expecting to be ready for the reception of pupils on the 1st of the Tenth Month. Before that time arrived, and while his preparations were incomplete, he yielded to the importunity of several young men for admission, who were willing to accept of such casual opportunities for instruc-

tion as his engagements would permit. There was some delay occasioned by the dilatory proceedings of the mechanics, and it was not till the 1st of the Eleventh Month, that he was fully ready to open school, and when that day arrived the allotted number had already entered. Had he been disposed to profit by his reputation as a teacher, he could easily have had a much larger school. It was difficult, indeed, to resist the urgency with which the applications of candidates for admission were pressed, and it was not long till the proposed limit was exceeded, first by a few, as a matter of special favor, and afterwards by a few others, till the number grew to twenty-five, beyond which his means of accommodation did not allow him to go. As it was not within the scope of his plan to employ an usher, preferring to superintend the mathematical studies of each student himself, and to instruct each one separately and singly, without the usual time-saving arrangement of classes, his labors for several years were exceedingly arduous. His wife took a lively interest in the school, and not unfrequently gave instruction in reading, writing, and English grammar. Her presence was always welcome to the pupils. Every face brightened whenever she entered the school-room. Her elocution was exceedingly fine, her taste cultivated and accurate, her voice sweet and musical, and, having a nice appreciation of her author, she never failed to delight and instruct by her reading as well as by her conversation. Under her care, the large household was so ordered that everything seemed to fall naturally into its proper place. There was neither confusion nor haste ; nothing in excess and nothing wanting. The table was generously spread, the beds were scrupulously clean, and whatever was necessary to the health or comfort of the pupils was provided. If sick, they were attended with motherly care and with anxious and watchful interest. Under her eye, all was order and harmony without any obtrusive hard angles or systematic arrangement, or forced method. In her intercourse with the inmates of her numerous family, however diverse in temper and disposition, habits or manners, not an unkind word was ever passed. The fear of forfeiting her regard or wounding her feelings was a continual restraint upon the few, whose



proclivities to mischief tended to make them troublesome. Tenderly compassionate to the faults of those under her care, she taught them how those faults could be cured, and with surprising influence and effect. Every one was assured, that in her he had an unfaltering friend, whose kindness was inexhaustible, and would reward unlimited confidence. In the kitchen, school-room, nursery, or parlor, surrounded by her servants, conversing with or instructing the pupils, nursing the sick, or entertaining her friends, she always wore the same radiant look, the same cheerful and benignant mien, and was as much a lady to her cook as to her most courtly visitor. Although this may seem, to such of my readers as knew nothing of my mother, to be extravagant eulogy, to those who were fortunate enough to have seen her in the home made happy by her presence, it will seem but a tame, cold, and inadequate description of her daily life and demeanor. Of those who recollect her at that period, a New England gentleman, Benjamin Rodman, then a pupil, writing of her in a private letter, not intended for the public eye, says, "I was only fourteen years old in November, 1808, when I went to New Garden, and that is not an age when boys are very discriminating in their observations as to character. I have only one great and long memory of your mother. In my eyes she was an angel. There was a perfect halo of love ever shining about her. There was the tenderness of a mother, with the sweetness of a sister, which, combined, made her dearer than either could be alone. No distance, no separation, was ever manifest in her intercourse with the scholars. As a companion or a counsellor, she was equally accessible, and she was the idol of the house. She was tall and slender, with a face, though not to be remarked as peculiarly beautiful, yet with a sweetness of expression which made mere beauty unattractive in comparison; and the quiet grace with which she moved, ever indicated that her disposition was moulded to the highest thought, and that her life was regulated by that spirit of resignation which dictated the lines:—

' Enough has Heaven indulged of joys below,  
To tempt our tarriance in this loved retreat;

Enough has Heaven ordained of useful woe  
To make us languish for a happier seat.'

And these were the ever abiding and conscious feelings of her heart, and fitted her for an ornament of earth or a resident of Heaven. When I see those lines, or hear them, your mother, 'the much loved Alice,' comes before me as vividly as when she was assiduously ministering to the boy so far from home." Another correspondent, Samuel Rodman, who was a pupil at the same time, says, "Thy mother was one of those uncommon women, in whom the elements of female excellence were so happily combined by nature, I am inclined to think, before they were moulded and confirmed by divine grace, that she commanded the love and esteem of all who knew her. Of the reality of these qualities, no better evidence can be asked than the unanimous verdict of the whole catalogue of scholars with whom I was connected as inmates of the family, among whom she daily moved with an unfaltering kindness, and winning affability, and humble dignity of manner, which irresistibly attracted the love and respect of the whole household. Ever vigilant to anticipate the wants of all, and to contribute to their real comfort and happiness, by gently endeavoring to guide the subject of her Christian solicitude and motherly care, into those paths of duty and self-restraint, in which she well knew happiness and peace could alone be found. Towards me, she gave unnumbered proofs of an affectionate interest, which has never faded, and will never fade from my memory. I joined the school under peculiar circumstances. I had just lost my elder brother by yellow fever in the West Indies, an affliction which I could not hide from her sympathizing heart, and if she did feel for me, as I always imagined, a rather special regard, this fact affords the explanation. I send herewith a copy of a little impromptu note and verses, which she addressed to me a few weeks after I had been an inmate of the family. She frequently gave to me the privilege of reading to her in the evening the poetry of Cowper, for which we felt a common admiration, both for the beauty of thought and diction, and the general excellence of the sentiments." The verses are original and in a religious vein, suited to the condition of one under



affliction, and were doubtless prompted by the circumstance alluded to by my estimable correspondent. My father, doubtless, understood the feelings of his young pupil, but considerably left it to a gentler and softer hand to apply the needed balm.

Another, the late Joshua Hoopes, afterwards an able mathematician and successful teacher, remarked, in a letter written some twenty years ago, "In the autumn of 1808, thy father opened a boarding-school for a limited number of pupils in New Garden. I immediately entered as one of them, and remained under his instruction nine months, which constituted one of the pleasantest portions of my life. As the students were generally young men, several of us having previously taught school, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, and having a teacher imbued with great intellectual power, facility and willingness to impart, and whose companion was of kind, engaging and dignified manners, and very attentive to our comfortable accommodation, there was scarcely anything wanting to form a terrestrial paradise."\* The late Judge Haines, a short time before his death, spoke of the time which he spent in the New Garden boarding-school, as being full of exceedingly

\* Joshua Hoopes, who was one of the original sixteen that entered the New Garden boarding-school at its opening, conceived the idea of celebrating appropriately the fiftieth anniversary of that event. He accordingly invited as many of those original sixteen as were then living, to dine with him at his house in West Chester on that anniversary. He ascertained that there were nine, and probably ten, of the number still living, and to them he sent invitations. There were five or six, I do not remember with entire certainty which was the exact number, accepted and were present on the occasion, and had a very pleasant time together. I was not present, owing to ill-health, which at the time confined me to my house; but the principal part of the company, attended by Joshua Hoopes, were kind enough to call and to spend a pleasant hour with me during the afternoon. Each one, of course, had his reminiscences of old boarding-school scenes, and was interested to recall and relate them. Among them was Benjamin Rodman, who had been prominent in Massachusetts politics, and who had been for a number of years a member of the Massachusetts Senate; William Jackson, who had been a member of the Pennsylvania Senate; and Townsend Haines, who was then Presiding Judge of the 15th Judicial District of Pennsylvania. Joshua Hoopes' project embraced a visit to the New Garden boarding-school property. But this part of the programme was abandoned in consequence of the bad condition of the roads.

pleasant recollections. "Your mother," said he, "was one of the most excellent of women. My admiration of her amounted almost to adoration. I deemed myself a particular favorite, and, though prone to mischief, I could not bear the thought of displeasing her, and was very careful that none of my pranks, if possible, should come to her knowledge. Her influence over me in restraining my erratic proclivities, and stimulating me to proper effort, was more than that of any other human being I ever met with ; and yet she never chided nor admonished me. The control she exercised over me was by the kindness of her nature, and the winning sweetness of her manner."

Many statements, verbal or written, of a similar nature, might be added. All persons from whom I have sought information speak of my mother in the same strain. The only difference is in the force of the expression of that universal feeling of love, admiration and almost reverence, with which she inspired every heart. On the other hand, the impression made by my father was not uniformly the same upon all students. His manners were severely plain, and there was an air of austerity about him, that rendered it next to impossible to trifle in his presence ; and made many who did not approach him near enough to discover the large reservoir of the milk of human kindness that lay concealed beneath the superficies of rather an authoritative and unbending exterior, in constant awe of him. Thus, while one of his older pupils speaks of him as having "frequent genial moods, when he would hold free intercourse with such amongst us as sought his society, and when, released from what seemed to be the accustomed tension of his thoughts, he would become exceedingly communicative and interesting, and treat us to a talk in which wit and humor were by no means wanting," another, who was with him at the same period, though younger in years, says, "your father was a great mathematician, an able teacher and an austere man, who caused his scholars to fear him, but seldom, if ever, unbending to social intercourse among them." The difference in years between the two boys, as they then were, explains the difference in their recollections of their teacher. The one was



old enough to think and feel as a man, and to be somewhat of a companion. The other was too young for companionship with a grave and learned senior, and was repelled by his thoughtful and forbidding air from approaching him, except for instruction. With the one, he was sometimes familiar, with the other, not. But even the familiarity in which he occasionally indulged with his elder pupils, was not exactly of the common kind. His conversation usually ran on topics in some way connected with literature, science or philosophy ; and he experienced little enjoyment in any society in which no interest was taken in such subjects. Of course, he paid his share of the tax, which, exacted by civility, all must pay to dullness, but he felt the burden somewhat sorely. "These are very clever people," said he to me one day, after certain Friends, who had not one feeling in common with himself, except as members of the same religious society, had spent an afternoon with him, without having left a thought behind or taken one away with them, "but I am afraid I like them quite as well at a distance." Though he never laughed aloud, he was fond of a good joke and especially of "that finer shade of feeling—the half and half" as Coleridge calls it, of which the best talkers have usually the nicest appreciation ; and he always told an anecdote well, but never for the sake of the telling or when it was not apposite to the occasion. He loved discussion, but was not inclined to disputation, and, unless a worthy adversary offered, would generally parry an effort to draw him into controversy. Thus to a friend of some learning, who was desirous to dispute with him, and whom he knew to be invincibly opinionated, he said, "If thou wilt show me any way in which the subject can be treated mathematically, I am sure that we shall not be long in coming to a conclusion that will be satisfactory to both ; but if thou wilt not do that I fear we shall find after a long argument that we have failed to reach any other result than each to convince the other that he has a very obstinate man to deal with." A voluble and desultory talker contradicted very positively an observation made by my father, and tried to draw him into debate. My father attempted to sustain his opinion by arguments presented in logical sequence, but soon found

that he made no impression upon the undisciplined intellectual forces of his antagonist, who, like Goldsmith's schoolmaster,

"Though vanquished oft could argue still."

He, therefore, suddenly put an end to the contest by rather sharply remarking, "I am utterly unable to comprehend thy reasoning, as thou seemest to be to comprehend mine, and it is useless to attempt argument till we can better understand each other." Having been challenged to discuss a much controverted theological point in the presence of a number of persons, he declined, for the reason that in such a discussion the contest would almost unavoidably be for victory rather than truth; and he did not believe that it would be profitable either to the speakers or to the hearers. Although my father's manner among his pupils was generally somewhat distant and reserved, he was quick to perceive their true characters, and to comprehend the state of their feelings. One young man, of excellent disposition, is remembered, who came from Virginia to put himself under my father's instruction. The young man was laboring at the time under deep religious impressions. My father immediately discovered what was going on within the breast of his pupil, and the two were seen frequently taking long walks together in the fields and woods, engaged in earnest and serious conversation, obviously on some subject of interest to both. A short time passed, and the young man was received into the Society of Friends, of which he continued to be a consistent and useful member. The way in which my father treated a young man for a habit, which he desired to break up, suggests a hint which may be useful to others in like circumstances. Among the pupils at New Garden, there was one that came there a confirmed somnambulist. He was in the habit of rising from his bed at night, and acting in a manner of which he was entirely unconscious, and which sometimes involved danger to those with whom he came in contact. One night, after midnight, my father hearing an uproar in the boys' dormitory, entered it with a light in hand. He found this young man staring wildly, and chasing his school-mates around the room, striking at them right and left, and uttering cries indicating that he imagined that he was beset by negroes, from



whom he was defending himself. My father surveyed the scene before him for a few minutes, and then, seizing the young man, he shook him violently till he was thoroughly awake. He then reprimanded him severely for his conduct, and sent him back to his bed. The young man excused himself as being utterly ignorant of what he was doing. My father, however, with some seeming injustice, did not accept the excuse, and left him under the impression that he had very seriously offended his teacher. When some months afterwards the young man was about to quit school, my father explained to him the object of his treatment of him. He told him that he intended by his reprimand to so impress him, that he would carry with him a sense of the impropriety of his conduct, and thus to prevent a repetition of it. This treatment had the desired effect. The young man was entirely cured of his somnambulism.

The school continued to flourish, and in the course of a year my father added to his farm a tract of sixty-five acres, by purchase from his brother-in-law, Emmor Kimber, who had taken, in right of his wife, a part of the land of which Isaac Jackson had died seized. Subsequently he bought fifty-nine acres more, and thus became owner of all the land previously held by Isaac Jackson. This last purchase included a new dwelling house and farm buildings, erected after Isaac Jackson's death. Immediately on becoming the owner of land, my father began to add to its productiveness by the free use of lime and gypsum, and by stable manure kept dry till hauled on the ground. The old system of irrigation, much in vogue with the original settlers of the country, and steadily pursued by Isaac Jackson as long as he lived, was for the most part abandoned, and a certain rotation of crops was scrupulously observed. Upland as well as meadow was made to yield abundantly the best grasses. Old, worn-out, sterile fields, lying at a distance from the mansion-buildings, were brought under cultivation and fertilized; and the whole aspect of the farm soon underwent a surprising change. The natural quality of the soil was not good, but by the treatment to which it was subjected, the land became productive. My father, at this period of his life, took great interest in the improvement of his farm. He habitually rose early,

issued directions to his workmen at sunrise, and gave attention to whatever needed it till breakfast-time. When breakfast was over, he went into the school-room, remained there till dinner was announced, usually a few minutes after twelve, and after dinner went out into the fields, where, in the time of hay-making and harvest, he worked energetically till near two o'clock, when he returned to the school-room and remained till five or later. A short walk abroad in fair weather, sometimes arm in arm with my mother, sometimes with an elder pupil or two, often closed the day. The evenings were generally devoted to reading or study, and though he usually retired to rest about eleven, he sometimes, when deeply absorbed by some interesting inquiry, worked on far into the night. When my father was thus engaged, it was not the habit of my mother to break in upon his thoughts by any unseasonable admonition as to the passing time, but leaving him to pursue his investigations, she would quietly retire in such a way as not to attract his attention. She would not increase his labors by officious or ill-timed expressions of solicitude on account of his long watching ; but, so far as she could, afforded facilities for his studious pursuits. All wives are not so considerate. Scholars, if we mistake not, are liable to affectionate annoyance from their better halves, when protracted study happens to break in upon domestic regulations.

The afternoons of the Seventh-day of every week were allowed to the pupils for recreation. That little portion of time my father was accustomed to fill up with such engagements as could not be attended to on other days of the week ; and he used to say that he always found the last the busiest day of the seven. On that afternoon, he was accustomed to make surveys, serve as arbitrator, settle estates as executor, administrator, assignee, or guardian, and attend to Society appointments, of which no small number devolved upon him. In the administration of the discipline of the Society, he was frequently required to serve on committees appointed to deal with offenders. Of a stern countenance, severe in his morals, and maintaining the strictest guard on his language and deportment, few supposed that he would be lenient in judgment or disposed to



charitable construction in cases involving a breach of discipline ; and, therefore, those who were the subjects of visitation, naturally stood more in awe of him than of others, who seemed less rigidly observant of moral propriety. But it was soon found that his disposition was wholly different from what was expected, and that as long as a hope remained that the offender would be brought to a proper sense of his conduct, and be enabled to condemn it with sincerity and profit, he was inclined to labor with him for his restoration to the privileges of the Society, and was reluctant, unless the necessity became clear, to apply the penalty of excision. Though needing himself, as little as any man, the benefit of a charitable construction, he knew enough of life and human nature to make allowance for the temptations of an unguarded hour, and was not to be persuaded to treat venial errors with harshness, or to imply total depravity from a single lapse. When an accusation was preferred, it mattered not how strong the stream of prejudice ran against the accused, he heard him fairly and fully, and held his judgment in suspense till the whole case was presented. It was impossible to preoccupy his mind with neighborhood rumors. He distrusted every tale of scandal, listened with but ill-concealed impatience to imputations upon men of fair character, and never repeated them. One notable instance is remembered, in which a serious and scandalous charge was brought against a Friend of good standing. The charge was generally believed. My father was one of a committee appointed to investigate it. The accused and the accuser were brought face to face. After they had both been heard, and their statements had been made, not without severely criminatory altercations, my father, as the interview was about to close, called the attention of the committee to a part of the accuser's story, and upon that predicated a series of close questions, which being so rapidly put as to give no time for the fabrication of a consistent falsehood, revealed the true character of the accusation and exposed its mercenary purpose. The committee was completely satisfied. A report favorable to the accused was promptly made, and a criminal prosecution, which had been commenced, was abandoned.

## CHAPTER VI.

## DECEASE OF WIFE—VISIT TO VIRGINIA.

My mother early considered the question, whether it was proper in one concerned to bear a testimony against slavery, to use the produce of slave labor ; and though she did not feel it to be right to force her own views on others, she discriminated in her purchases for the family between the produce of free and slave labor ; and as far as possible herself abstained from using any article of slave production. In the spring of 1806, she attended the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, and laid this subject before that body, in a forcible and impressive address. An aged Friend, forty years afterwards, speaking of her effort on that occasion, remarked : " I want thee to know of thy mother's interest in the cause of free produce. The subject had engaged but little attention before she brought it to the notice of the Yearly Meeting, but she caused it to be thought of and gravely discussed. She presented it in a way that awakened much sensibility and made a profound impression upon every mind within that large assembly."

Some years after, a Society for the cultivation and sale of free produce was established in Philadelphia by means of which persons who felt scrupulous about using products of slave labor, might be supplied with sugars and cotton fabrics which had not been soiled by the sweat of the slave.

The school continued to prosper—the farm to improve, and my father's reputation as a thorough and successful teacher became fully established. His physical constitution was good, his power of endurance not easily excelled, and as his temperament rendered constant occupation a necessity, the demands upon his time of his business and other engagements afforded him no vexation or inquietude. His profits were quite equal to his wishes, he was gaining more and more the respect and confidence of his religious society and of the community, and there was no cloud upon his prospects. Nearly two years passed in active effort and full domestic enjoyment, without



one cause of hindrance to its sweet and genial flow, except in the loss of a promising son, who died in his infancy in the Seventh Month, 1810.

During this period, he revised Simpson's work on Trigonometry, and, having added a Series of Spherical Projections, the book was published for the use of schools. Besides this he revised, with some annotations, an edition of Bonnycastle's Algebra. He began also to prepare for publication a treatise on Arithmetic, intending to follow it with one on Algebra, one on Practical Surveying, and others lying in the line of his daily prelections, so as to constitute, in connection with other approved works, a complete course of Elementary Mathematical Treatises, calculated to lighten the labors of teachers, and facilitate the efforts of learners.

In the Fourth Month, 1812, his thoughts were suddenly diverted into another channel. His manuscripts were thrown aside, and all the care that could be spared from the school was devoted to another and a dearer object. My mother a few weeks after the birth of my youngest brother, which occurred on the Fourth of the Fourth Month, 1812, was taking a ride with my father with a view to the recuperation of her strength, when they were suddenly overtaken by a shower of rain. She contracted in consequence a severe cold which was followed by a dangerous attack of pneumonia. For a number of days she was in imminent peril. She recovered slowly, but was left with a distressing cough. Open air exercise having been advised, my father purchased a horse and chaise expressly for her use, and I, then in my eleventh year, was required to attend upon her as driver when my father's engagements did not permit him to accompany her. We spent much time during the summer and early autumn in riding abroad. My mother gained strength and her worst symptoms were considerably mitigated. In the winter, however, she was obliged by the state of the weather, for the most part to keep her chamber, and by the time the spring opened she had lost all the ground she had previously gained, and there was a development of pulmonary disease, threatening fatal consequences.

The summer of 1813 was spent in travelling for the benefit



of her health. In one of her journeys, she visited the pine region east of Mount Holly, in New Jersey, and spent five weeks in the salubrious atmosphere of that region, attended by her widowed sister, Catharine Pugh, from Philadelphia, and was much benefited. A second journey was subsequently undertaken, in which, accompanied by her friends Jacob Lindley, an eminent minister of her own meeting, and his most estimable daughter, Sarah, she visited the mountains about the Water Gap and Wind Gap upon the Delaware, and the neighboring districts in New Jersey on the east side of the river. This excursion occupied some six weeks, but was without beneficial results. During her absence from home on this occasion, her third son, a bright boy of some four years of age, suddenly sickened and after a short and severe illness died. My father, apprehensive of the effects of the shock which the intelligence of her child's death would create upon her system in its present sensitive and debilitated condition, started off immediately after the funeral, to be himself the messenger who should inform her of the bereavement. My mother learned of my father's approach a-half hour before he reached her, and at once presaged the cause of his coming. She bore the affliction with the resignation becoming a christian, and though she could reverently say "the Lord gave and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord," her spirits were saddened deeply, and her own hold on life became thereby impaired. She returned home worse than when she left.\* As the cold weather advanced, the unfavorable symp-

\* While my mother was travelling for the benefit of her health, she received many letters from my father, several of which were written in verse. Two of them have been preserved, owing to the fact of their having been copied by some friends to whom my mother showed them. One of them found its way into the *Village Record* some fifteen years after it was written. The other, which is much the shorter of the two, has escaped publication. It was furnished to me by a gentleman in no way connected with the family. It is here inserted as a specimen of my father's versification.

The wheels of time are moving on,  
 To roll our lives away;  
 The glittering dews of youth are flown  
 From manhood's fervid ray.

toms became aggravated and she declined rapidly, and on the morning of the 13th of the Twelfth Month she sweetly and calmly sank into that sleep that knows no waking, being at that time a little more than thirty-five years of age. She had at an early period regarded her sickness as most probably fatal, and had never been flattered by any mitigation of its symptoms with a hope of a permanent cure. She was, however, well prepared for either event, and fully resigned to the will of her Heavenly Father, on whose everlasting arm she leaned for support, and in the comforting assurances of whose love she deemed all afflictions light.

Her short life had been in the main an unusually happy one, and with a husband generally respected, prosperous in business and thoroughly devoted to her, a family of young children in whose welfare she was deeply interested, she had much to live for. Yet she accepted the dispensation of the all-wise Disposer of events, as made in unerring wisdom and unfaltering love,—

“ Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,  
Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind.”

She had been a minister in the Society of Friends more than eight years, and was in that relation peculiarly acceptable. She did not speak frequently, but when she did speak, her communications were exceedingly impressive. She had a rare elo-

Full fourteen years with noiseless haste,  
Have glided o'er the line  
That parts the future from the past,  
Since first I called thee mine.

And though along the humble walk  
Our devious way has been ;  
Where sorrow's swelling clouds assail  
To mark the checkered scene,

Our troubled minds have oft been soothed  
By hope's enlivening ray ;  
And still our mutual love has smoothed  
The rough and thorny way.

Though oft I've wandered from the road  
Which Jacob's star illumines,  
Where the fierce lion never trod,  
Nor fowl with gilded plumes,

quence, a fine imagination, and a ready command of appropriate language. As I have elsewhere said in speaking of the members of the Jackson family, "a gentleman, who knew her well, once said of her, she could not enter a retail store to buy a yard of tape without leaving the impression that she was a superior woman. She had a fine face, features of the Grecian mold, and a tall and handsome form, and her carriage was queenly in dignity and self-command. She was universally admired for the graces of her person, and honored, loved, and I may truly say revered for the graces of her mind, and the qualities of her heart. Her society was attractive, alike to the old and the young, the grave and the gay, the witty and the wise and even to the simple ; for there was a genial flow in her conversation, a warmth and tenderness of feeling, and a singular felicity of thought and expression, that could not fail to interest even the dullest intellect, and to touch the coldest bosom."

On the death of my mother, my father dismissed his school, which reassembled about the first of the year 1814. It was soon observed that his health was beginning to give way ; and it began to be apprehended that he would not long survive his wife. His physician and friends, therefore, urgently advised him to give up his school, and to betake himself to active

Though oft my stubborn will has turned,  
 From Shiloh's pleasant stream ;  
 And gentle wisdom's whispers spurned  
 For passion's feverish dream,

Still has the awful thunder's voice,  
 That spoke the wrath divine,  
 Disturbed me in my false repose,  
 A rest too often mine.

A spotless beam of heavenly light  
 Has pointed out the way  
 To where, concealed from folly's sight,  
 The babe immortal lay.

And still unmeasured mercy calls  
 To eye the peaceful shore,  
 Where sorrow's shaft innoxious falls,  
 And troubles wound no more.



exercise in the open air. Pursuant to this advice, he dismissed his pupils about the First of the Fourth Month, and endeavored to interest himself in the operations of his farm. He was not long employed in this way, before he was invited by Jesse Kersey to accompany him on a visit to the Southern States. Both he and Jesse Kersey had been earnest champions of negro emancipation, and the object of the proposed visit was to ascertain southern sentiment on the subject, among those who were supposed to be the leaders of public opinion in that quarter. Jesse Kersey was at that time in the forty-seventh year of his age, and in the full meridian of his intellectual brightness and powers. No one in the Society of Friends united more titles to the respect and esteem of his fellow-members, and, as a minister, his popularity was unbounded. His personal appearance did not contribute to the effect of his oratory. In stature he was rather below the middle height, his form was robust, his shoulders were round and stooping, and in walking and sitting his head was usually thrown forward with his chin on his breast and his eyes to the ground. His features, though not regular, were not unpleasing in combination, but there was nothing intellectual or striking about them. His voice was sweet and full, and possessed of great flexibility of tone, and was capable of being modulated to the expression

Then may I hope the bounteous hand  
 Extended from above,  
 That found us in a barren land  
 And warmed us with his love,

That sent his star to guide our youth  
 From error's tangled maze,  
 Along the even paths of truth,  
 And through the gates of praise,

Will condescend a stronger light,  
 On manhood's cares to throw,  
 To set my crooked will aright,  
 And bind the inborn foe,

And teach my wild, erratic mind  
 To keep the peaceful vale,  
 Which noisy strangers never find,  
 Nor boisterous storms assail.

of any emotion. His exordium was usually in the simplest style. He stated the proposition which he meant to illustrate and enforce plainly and concisely, and proceeded to discuss his subject with great clearness, leaving no sentiment obscurely expressed, and no link in the chain of his reasoning, incomplete, and bringing to the aid of his arguments original combinations of thought, and ample stores of illustration. His enunciation was distinct, his language, choice and simple, and his words flowed in a clear, unbroken stream, sparkling with light and reflecting images of grace and beauty. As he warmed with his subject, he became earnest and impassioned, and when he came to make the proper application of the points he had labored to establish, and to appeal to the conscientious convictions and religious sensibilities of his hearers, his whole soul was poured forth in tender entreaty, and every opposing feeling was charmed down, and subdued by his irresistible pathos. I have heard many men who thought more profoundly and reasoned more logically, but none whose power to move the passions and affect the will, was equal to his, in his palmy days

Through the descending paths of life  
 Conduct my steps along ;  
 And with my sweet and tender wife  
 Attune the evening song.

I find the need of grace divine,  
 To guide me on my way,  
 To bind the proud, aspiring mind  
 To meek Immanuel's way.

And oh ! that clothed with perfect love,  
 From grov'ling terrors free,  
 Our souls the flaming sword may bear  
 That guards the sacred tree.

That when the toils of life are past,  
 Its dreams delusive fled,  
 And reeling nature views aghast  
 The shade impervious spread,

The lamp of faith may ready stand  
 To illumine the lurid way ;  
 And the grim spectre's trembling hand  
 Unlock the gates of day.

before the blight came upon him, in which for years his genius was obscured and his inspiration lost.

My father while residing in Philadelphia, belonged to the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, of which Benjamin Franklin was the first President, and the subject of domestic slavery was one in which he had long taken a lively interest. He accepted without hesitation Jesse Kersey's invitation, and met him by appointment at Baltimore. The two friends thence proceeded to Washington, where they had interviews with President Madison and the members of his Cabinet residing in slave states. They went thence to Richmond in Virginia, where they met with the Governor of that state and a considerable number of its most prominent citizens. The original design of the journey was to extend their visit to the Carolinas and Georgia, and, if occasion should seem to require, still further. Somewhat to their surprise, however, they found but one sentiment prevailing, and they did not deem it necessary to go beyond Richmond. They were assured at that time that the people of the South with great unanimity, agreed in opinion that slavery was an unmitigated evil, and that the best interests of the country required that some measures should be adopted for its gradual and total extinction. The only apparent difficulty in the minds of Southern men of character and intelligence, appeared to be what means should be taken to relieve the country of an institution that had been so long and so firmly established, and to which the habits of the people were conformed. All professed themselves ready to coöperate in any scheme of general enfranchisement which should give a reasonable assurance of success. As Jesse Kersey's views did not extend to devising such a scheme, for which, indeed, he was by no means prepared, he thought it useless to continue the tour, and the two friends, therefore, returned home. Even John C. Calhoun, whom they saw at Washington, and who afterwards became the most redoubted champion of slavery, did not express any dissent from the views of other Southern statesmen on the subject, but only doubted the practicability of any means that could be devised for its abolition.

In Virginia, my father became acquainted with several men of



superior intelligence, with whom he maintained for some years a friendly correspondence and intercourse. One of them visited him in the following summer, and spent a month or more at his house ; and several of them afterwards sent pupils to his school. His views also of the system of slave-holding, and of the character of slave-holders, were modified by his observations. His detestation of slavery certainly was not lessened by what he had seen of its operations and results ; but his charity for those who had been brought up under its influence, and who had suffered the moral and physical enervation engendered by it, was enlarged. Persuaded of the great expensiveness of slave labor, and its inability to compete on equal terms with free labor, he commenced immediately on his return home a series of essays on the subject, in which he endeavored to demonstrate the unprofitableness of slavery as a means of production, and to convince slave-holders that great advantages would result economically from the substitution of voluntary for compulsory toil. These essays appeared, if I remember aright, in one of the newspapers published in the State of Delaware. They were written with some care, and were wholly of a practical character, the argument being addressed exclusively to the material interests of the class they were intended to influence.

During my father's absence from home on his journey to Virginia, he lost his mother, who died at her residence at Radnor. She had lived there for forty years, and was then in the seventy-second year of her age. My father was tenderly attached to her, and felt the bereavement severely. When he last saw her, previously to his leaving home, she was in her usual health, and no such sudden change was anticipated. Her sickness was short, but she was not surprised by its sudden termination. She had done her days' work in the day-time, was fully prepared for the final summons, and her end was peace. During the same period of absence he lost also his friend and neighbor, Jacob Lindley, with whom he had been on terms of unusual intimacy for several years. Jacob Lindley was an eminent minister and a most interesting and entertaining companion. I remember that he once spent three days in my father's family,

and that the pupils crowded around him to hear his conversation, which, though generally serious, was enlivened by a vivid imagination. He died on the first day of the week. In the morning he preached a most earnest and impressive sermon on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, and the necessity of being prepared for the awful change whenever it might come, and he remarked that he was strongly impressed with the belief that there was a person present in that meeting who would not live to see the light of another day. It might be himself—it might be another—the event to his mind was clearly manifest. I was present on the occasion and heard the solemn words of warning pronounced. The meeting separated under a deep feeling of awe, and a few hours afterwards, it was announced that he had fallen from his chaise on his way to Westtown, and had died instantly.

Just before my father started upon his southern tour, he lost by death his valued friend Thomas Scattergood, an eminent minister in the Society. He was a man whose name was a synonym for excellence in our family circle. He spent the principal part of the summers of 1805 and 6, in giving instruction to some of the literary classes in the school at Westtown, and particularly in assisting to uphold the discipline of the institution. His work was entirely voluntary and was done under a sense of religious duty. Although I could not have seen him after 1806, seventy-six years ago, I have a distinct recollection of his bearing and demeanor, of his saint-like aspect and of the very powerful influence he exerted over the youthful subjects of his concern. No man in my childhood impressed me so deeply.

My father's health was so much improved during the summer that he decided on re-opening school on the first of the Tenth Month, and gave public notice to that effect. On the day appointed he resumed his place at the teacher's desk with a full school, which gave him ample employment throughout the winter, but having concluded to submit no longer to the confinement of the school-room during the summer, he dismissed his pupils early in the Fourth Month, designing to teach thereafter during that part of the year only in which the care required



by the farm failed to supply him with full occupation. His business during the five years that followed his removal to New Garden was satisfactorily remunerative; he felt no further concern as to his ability to provide for himself and family; and having become much engaged in the fulfillment of Society appointments, and interested in the great cause of emancipation, on which he deemed the future of our free institutions and the progress of American civilization largely to depend, he desired to have more leisure than the unremitted continuance of his school would allow for congenial studies and employments. His acquisitions had been moderate, but his desires were equally so. His property had increased largely in value under his hands, and he did not anticipate the depressed condition of the country which followed the peace of 1815, nor the fall in the price of land and in the market value of agricultural produce which ensued. Much less did he expect some pecuniary losses, which he soon afterwards experienced, and from which he suffered considerable inconvenience. He became convinced, subsequently, that he had relaxed in his pursuit of business too soon. Some years later, in speaking of this period of his life, he said: "It is well for men to know when they have enough, and to cease to push the world before they become enamored of it. But it is possible, also, to err upon the other side, and I apprehend that I committed that error. I was successful as long as thy mother lived, and I took an active interest in business. Her death deprived me for a time of energy and of motive for effort. The sense of her loss oppressed me for many months, and rendered the fruits of labor an object of little value. When I recovered from the immediate effect of this feeling, I might, with advantage in some respects, and without loss in any, have devoted a few more years to the improvement of my estate. I do not consider my example in this respect as proper to be recommended, especially to one who has a family to provide for. I am satisfied that I might have been more useful in the world had I pursued a different course. Still the opposite error, which is probably the most usual, is the worse of the two, and against that it is especially necessary to guard."



## CHAPTER VII.

## RESIDENCE IN WILMINGTON—IN PHILADELPHIA.

In the Fifth Month, 1815, my father married Lydia Jackson, eldest daughter of John Jackson, of Londongrove, and a first cousin of my mother. The connection was, in every respect, a suitable one, and subsisted in harmony and affection for nearly thirty-two years. She was a woman of excellent sense and quiet manners, and interested herself principally within the sphere of her domestic duties. She took no active part in the proceedings of the Society, beyond serving as clerk of the New Garden Monthly Meeting, and, though well educated, she had no inclination for teaching, and her care for the pupils extended only to making provision for their comfort and accommodation, and attending them kindly in sickness.

My father continued to reside in New Garden till the first of the Fourth Month, 1825, teaching a school of twenty boys for half the year, and devoting the other half to the cultivation of his farm, and to literary, benevolent and social objects. During the war with England, which began in 1812 and terminated in 1815, he spent time and money in endeavoring to promote the raising of wool, and the improvement of its quality; and he collected a large number of sheep, which he kept for a considerable time after they ceased to be profitable, under the expectation that some protection would be afforded by the government to an interest which had grown into importance, and which could not be sacrificed without great loss to the country. But like most others who have looked for an intelligent sympathy in Congress with the real wants of the producing classes, controlled as it has been for the most part by an influence hostile to northern industry and to northern capital, he was disappointed. His fine flock gradually melted away, following those of his neighbors which had previously disappeared.

During the period that intervened between his second marriage and his removal from New Garden in 1825, my father published his treatise on arithmetic for the use of schools. Several editions of this work have been issued from the press, but it is now superseded by works which perhaps require less

learning in the teachers and less thought and study in the pupils. This treatise contained many things which were at that time new to professional teachers, and furnished the means of teaching numbers as a science and not merely as an art.

During the same period, he wrote many essays for the newspapers on various subjects. He published a learned dissertation on Temperance, and a pamphlet on The Militia System of Pennsylvania. In the latter he attempted, I think successfully, to prove that persons conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, had a constitutional right to complete exemption from military requisitions in time of peace. Of this little work, two later editions were published, the last in 1846.

In the beginning of 1820, the Meeting for Sufferings having obtained satisfactory evidence that free people of color were frequently consigned to slavery by the decisions of aldermen and justices of the peace, under the claims of pretended masters, a committee was appointed to lay the subject before the Legislature, and to ask for an enactment which should put a stop to this traffic. My father was one of the committee, and visited Harrisburg with his colleagues. Their representations were favorably received, and in the following year a law was passed, the first, it is believed in the Union, which prohibited aldermen and justices of the peace from exercising any authority under the act of Congress over persons claimed as fugitive slaves. This was a highly salutary and benevolent enactment and proved an effectual remedy for a great evil.

In the years 1823 and 1824, the slave trade became a subject of peculiar concern with some leading Friends. In the spring of 1824 my father, with Thomas Evans, went to Washington to collect facts from the public archives. Every facility was afforded them by the government, and they returned after more than a week's absence, with an important and interesting body of information. My father, soon after, wrote a small volume entitled, *A View of the Present State of the African Slave Trade*, which was published by the authority of the Meeting for Sufferings. A few pages appear, by the difference of style, to be the work of his colleague. The volume still deserves perusal. It shows from authentic records, that the traffic has

lost none of its horrors since the startling disclosures made by Clarkson ; that by whatever nation it is conducted, only the vilest of men will engage in it, and that, therefore, no method of regulation or supervision will avail to make it other than cruel and abominable.

Late in the summer of 1824, a malignant form of dysentery became epidemic in New Garden. I visited my father at once and urged him to remove with his family. He answered that they had been long exposed to the malaria, and that it would now be hopeless to escape from it by flight. Besides, the disease was generally thought to be contagious ; there was a great want of nurses, and the services of himself and my sisters were needed nightly at the bedsides of their neighbors, whom they could not abandon in their extremity. I had not thought of this. It happened, as in many similar cases, that persons who were night and day in close contact with the sick, retained their usual health, while others who through fear kept themselves aloof, were attacked by the disease. My father, as long as the malady prevailed, did duty among the poor, not only as nurse but as physician, going from house to house, and taxing his powers to the utmost, yet his health was not seriously affected, nor did his family, though constantly exposed to the pestilence, suffer from it.

In 1825, my father, having been forced to purchase some property in Wilmington, to save himself from considerable loss, removed thither, and opened there a mathematical school for a limited number of scholars. The school was soon filled, and was continued for several years. While thus engaged, he wrote a treatise on algebra for the use of schools, which was published in 1826. This work was well esteemed by mathematical teachers, and was certainly an improvement upon the treatises previously in use. Like his arithmetic, however, it was too erudite for the mass of teachers and of pupils, and did not become widely popular. Two editions were sold, a third was planned, with some modifications intended to make it more generally acceptable ; but the author's mind became occupied with other subjects, and the plan was not carried out.

During his residence in Wilmington, my father's interest in



negro slavery continued unabated, and his pen was busy in discussing it in the newspapers of the day. His essays were distinguished by fullness of knowledge, and by philosophical calmness and moderation. Though published anonymously, the hand of the author was known to a wide circle of readers. His deep interest in the cause of emancipation and his acquaintance with slavery in its various aspects, led an association of benevolent gentlemen in Philadelphia to invite him to become the editor of a monthly magazine devoted to this subject. He accepted the invitation, and removed to Philadelphia in the Fourth Month of 1827, and the first number of "The African Observer" soon after appeared.

It was a labor of love on his part, rather than a business enterprise ; his salary as editor being by no means sufficient for his support. But he was profoundly impressed with the growing importance of the political and social questions connected with slavery, and clearly foresaw that the history of the nation must for many years take its character from its dealings with this institution. In view of the asperity which the controversy was already beginning to assume, and of the dangers threatened by the sectional alienation and the party passions which were growing up under it, his earnest desire was to introduce into the discussion the calmness of true statesmanship. He sought to apply to these questions at once the principles of political economy and those of humanity, principles universally accepted as laws of civilization ; and, by showing the impolicy and waste, as well as the immorality of slavery, to reach the minds and hearts of its supporters. To convince and persuade, avoiding every expression which could provoke or exasperate ; to remember that slave-owner as well as slave was a man and a brother, and to bring to bear upon both all the resources of sound reason and of philanthropy ; this was his fixed policy, and the only one from which he expected any good result. The spirit in which many of the abolitionists conducted their agitation was one which he could not approve, and he feared lest the antagonism it must provoke would retard the desired reform. His christian sympathy was enlisted for the slave-

holder as well as the slave, and he rejected as unworthy the philanthropy which seemed partial and exclusive.

"The slave," he says in his prospectus, "is not the only object that demands our consideration. The introduction of negro-slavery into the United States was not the work of the present generation. The system was entailed upon them by their ancestors, and justice demands the admission that evils, both moral and political, are more easily discovered than removed; and that those who are subjected, by the circumstances of their birth, to the hard alternative—either to remodel their habits which have grown with their years, or to maintain a system which their sober judgments cannot approve, are objects of sympathy with the truly christian mind." This short extract exhibits the temper in which the editor entered upon his duties; and the same temper was maintained with entire consistency as long as the publication was continued. The original articles, with perhaps one exception, were his own, and treat various branches of the great subject always in the same philosophical and benevolent spirit. The work was circulated in several of the slave states, and never elicited an angry or unseemly retort, except in a single instance, and that was so obviously without adequate cause or excuse, that no notice was taken of it. The time had not then arrived when slavery, in the abstract, was to be justified and upheld as a moral and social good. The institution had its apologists, but there was no such general sentiment in its favor as to make its defenders seem respectable. It had not become potent enough to assume an aggressive character, and to cherish the ambitious hope of subverting the republic. It was commonly deplored as an evil awaiting the progress of events for its extinction.

It was, however, obvious to the sagacious political student, fifty years ago, that two systems of society, so diverse as that of the slave-holding and that of the free states, could not long exist under the same government without collision. The peaceable extinction of slavery was, therefore, to the mind of the editor of the *African Observer*, an object of national importance demanding the highest statesmanship. In one article he proposed that a fund should be provided by the United

States government for the purchase of all the slaves in the slave-holding states, at a just valuation, on the enactment of laws by the several slave-holding states, by which slavery should be forever abolished. The wisdom of this scheme is now easily comprehended, though few were found to favor it at that time.

The African Observer was discontinued at the end of a year, the demand not being sufficient to support the enterprise. Several circumstances concurred to prevent its success. The time of its appearance was unpropitious. The Society of Friends, in which such a periodical would otherwise have found a large number of patrons, was distracted by internal questions of doctrine and discipline. The Society, born of persecution, and ever, heretofore, distinguished for its harmony, was torn by discord. Elias Hicks, an aged minister, remarkable for his eloquence and the simple purity of his life, as well as for the boldness of his theological opinions, was supposed, by many of the fathers in the church, to preach doctrines incompatible with the faith of the early Friends. He traveled extensively in the ministry, followed by admiring crowds of young and enthusiastic hearers. When an attempt was made to interrupt his career as a preacher, a practical question of discipline arose, which complicated and increased previous difficulties. A final separation of the parties into two distinct organizations took place the same month that The African Observer appeared. The followers of Elias Hicks withdrew from the Yearly Meeting held at Arch street, in Philadelphia, and established a Yearly Meeting of their own at Green street in that city. These were called "Hicksites" by the members of the other division. Those who remained at Arch street were termed "Orthodox," and by these appellations, conferred at first in no friendly feeling, the two bodies soon became commonly known, though each claimed for itself the distinctive denomination of "Friends." The excitement for a short time was intense. It affected not only the religious association of the members, but extended in many neighborhoods and families to social relations. The schism rent in twain, not only the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, but every Yearly Meeting in America, except



that of New England. It gave rise to much discussion, and volumes were written on the subject. My father was an active member of the Meeting for Sufferings, which, during the recess of the Yearly Meeting, represents in many respects that body, and exercises to some extent its authority ; and, it was impossible for him to escape being involved in the controversy. He did not at all sympathise with those of his own party whose zeal drove matters to extremities ; and to the last moment of the existence of the Society in its original integrity, hoped that by forbearance and conciliation, a division might be avoided. He admitted the unsoundness of the opinions of Elias Hicks, which he deemed Socinian in their character, and he saw in the celebrated letters of Amicus, confirmation of his fears that, in the bosom of the Society, and among some of the most intelligent and influential of its members, doctrines were maintained with regard to the atonement and divine nature of Christ and to the authority of the sacred Scriptures, at variance with those of the ancient Friends. But he believed that the heresy, if such it could be called, might be better cured by earnest labor in brotherly sympathy and Christian love, than by excision. His meditative habits, in some measure, disqualified him for activity in an excited body, and his feelings inclining him to moderation, he could exercise but little influence over the more forward and zealous of his party. He counselled against extreme measures, but, when overruled in the whirl of excitement, he quietly pursued a line of conduct which kept his own conscience clear and caused no brother to offend. He adhered to the "Orthodox" division, with whose theological opinions he fully coincided, and after the separation retained his position as elder, and his appointments as a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, and shared the responsibility of its partisan measures. The exasperated feelings engendered by this controversy hindered the success of the *African Observer*. The most zealous and intelligent of the anti-slavery Friends were largely of the Hicksite branch, and they were suspicious that the *African Observer* might be used against their religious views. But it could not, under any circumstances, have become widely popular as a journal. Its aim

was exclusively to instruct, not to amuse. Its tone was too moderate to satisfy zealous partizanship, and its tranquil temper failed to arouse the antagonism which would have contributed to its success. All this the author knew well, but he felt no phrensy, and he would not feign it. He believed that emancipation was to be attained only with the concurrence of the slave-holders, and he was satisfied that denunciation was not the means by which they were to be persuaded, convinced or conciliated. If he could not aid the cause, he would do nothing to harm it.

About the time of the discontinuance of *The African Observer*, my father received from his friend, Joseph Watson, Mayor of Philadelphia, the appointment of City Regulator. As this office was likely to yield him a small income, he determined to add to his business as City Regulator surveying and engineering, and not to change his residence. He soon became actively employed, and continued to be so for several years. He made extensive surveys for Stephen Girard in Schuylkill County, and for the Bank of North America in Luzerne County. He laid out several towns, regulated others, including Reading, West Chester, Wilmington, Pottsville, and some of less note; and located the route of "The Mill Creek," "The Downingtown and Wilmington," and other projected rail roads in different parts of the country. His habitual accuracy and precision, his promptitude in attending to business, and his energy in carrying through whatever field-work he had on hand, made him widely known. During this period, though an old man, his physical vigor was in no wise impaired. He was usually the first man in his company ready for work in the morning, and the last to quit in the evening. With his Jacob-staff in hand, he clambered up mountain-sides, traversed deep morasses, waded streams of water, and followed his surveyors' line through fens and brakes with a steadiness of purpose and capacity for endurance that would have made the fortune of any young man.

He continued to reside in Philadelphia till late in the Eleventh Month, 1834, when, at the instance of the committee having charge of the Westtown Boarding-school, who desired his aid,



he removed thither, and, for several years, devoted the greater portion of his time to teaching. He also delivered lectures on various subjects to the pupils. A series of these lectures, as appears by manuscript notes still extant, was upon the Bible. Though not a linguist, he might well be considered a good biblical scholar. He was exceedingly familiar with the text, having studied it with care, and being accustomed to read some portion of it daily ; and his knowledge was increased by an attentive perusal of the best commentaries then extant. In this work he brought forward some views relating to the institutions of the Hebrews, that were original and striking. His disquisitions on Israelitish bondage were particularly interesting and instructive. It is to be regretted that his lectures were not written out and published. They would furnish an admirable exposition of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews, as a preparation for the dispensation of the Gospel.

My father continued to reside at Westtown till the Fourth Month, 1836, when he removed his family to New Garden, but continued to assist in the Westtown School for some time longer. During his twelve years' absence from his farm, it had considerably deteriorated ; and he set himself vigorously to work to bring it up to the condition in which it was when he left it in 1824. He occupied himself, principally, for eight months in each year with his farming operations, and in engineering and surveying. In the winter, he usually had some literary occupation on hand, and of Society business a large share always devolved upon him. He wrote essays on Temperance, Slavery, Lotteries and other topics for various periodicals.

In 1834, he published, with the approbation of the Meeting for Sufferings, his vindication of the Society of Friends, in answer to an article which had appeared in the fifth volume of the Biblical Repertory and Theological Review, commenting favorably on Dr. Cox's work, entitled Quakerism not Christianity. My father considered that the author of the article, under the guise of assumed candor and liberality, had held up the Society of Friends to view in a very unfavorable light, and had attempted to degrade their doctrines and misrepresent their usages ;



and thus in effect to obstruct the progress of vital christianity and sound morality. Some notice of the Review he therefore deemed to be necessary, and, in a pamphlet of seventy-three pages, he furnished not only a satisfactory answer to the objections of the reviewer, but striking through the Review home to the subject of the article, he, with "keen inspection" examined Doctor Cox's celebrated book, and exposed its malice and misstatements with a severity to which the cool and unimpassioned temper of the writer adds point and force. The following appreciative reference to my father's life and character, in connection with this treatise, is found in the Memoir of Philip and Rachel Price, a just and admirable tribute of filial piety to inestimable worth, published in 1852, by their son, Eli K. Price, Esq., of Philadelphia. "His (Dr. Cox's) polemical work of near seven hundred pages, was sufficiently answered in a pamphlet of seventy, in 'Vindication of the Society of Friends,' by Enoch Lewis. This co-laborer, through life, of my parents, but yet, at near an octogenarian age, actively engaged to enlighten his fellow-citizens and serve humanity, has, in this vindication, and in all his writings and example in life, appeared to be the more valuable in his advocacy, as showing that in the same mind and bosom may reign in congenial consistency the high attainments and severe habits of thought of mathematical and abstract science, together with the belief of the inspired influences of religion, as operative on the sensibility of the heart."

In the year 1836, my father wrote a small treatise on grammar, called a Familiar Introduction to English Grammar on the Inductive System, which was published by Kimber and Sharpless the same year. I presume his object to have been, to show how the principles taught by William Cardell could be applied in practical instruction. He had previously written several controversial papers on the subject, in defence of such of Cardell's views as he approved, and repelled with point and spirit some disingenuous assaults on the memory of his friend.

In the year 1837, my father prepared a memorial, addressed to the convention of delegates appointed to revise the constitution of Pennsylvania, on the subject of military exactions,

praying that body to modify the provision relating to the military defense of the commonwealth, in such manner as to secure to citizens conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, the full and unmolested enjoyment of their civil and religious rights. The claim of those whose religious principles were inconsistent with the practice of war, to be exempted from all military exactions, is fairly stated, and their right to such exemption on the ground of religious toleration, is urged with unanswerable force. The memorial, signed by himself and three other leading members of the Society, was duly presented to the convention, and was received with proper respect; but the object was not attained. Public opinion was not then ripe for the advanced movement suggested by the memorial; and the body to which it was addressed, though containing men of large minds and elevated views, was not, as a whole, prepared to favor any such progressive step. The result of its labors was not fortunate. It exhibited a sad declension from the liberal spirit of the founders of the Commonwealth, and even a retrogression from the progressive ideas which gave form and pressure to the first constitution of the state.

During the same year my father wrote another pamphlet on the subject of slavery, which was extensively circulated. During the autumn, he and Joseph Elkinton visited the Indian settlements at Tunessassah and the vicinity, as members of the Indian committee of the Meeting for Sufferings. One of the objects of the visit was to prevent the Indians from being plundered of their lands by a pretended treaty, which had been fraudulently obtained, from a minority of the chiefs, by an agent of the government acting under the influence of the Ogden Land Company and certain New York land speculators. Some important facts were obtained. It was found that the Indians, who, under the care of the Society of Friends, had acquired some knowledge of agriculture and the mechanical arts, and were slowly advancing in civilization, were strongly importuned by the United States agent to remove beyond the Mississippi; that bribes had been added to induce the chiefs to sign a treaty, and false promises had been made to the peo-

ple to induce them to favor it. It was also found that money and liquor had been freely distributed among those who were supposed capable of being influenced by such means, and that a treaty, prepared in due form and signed by a minority of the chiefs, had been obtained and was about to be set up as of the whole people, by which their valuable lands, houses, barns, mills and work-shops were ceded to the government, and their consent given to a removal west of the Mississippi. My father and his companion, having made necessary arrangements for providing against the wants which threatened the Indians during the approaching winter from the loss of one of their principal crops, returned home and made their report. The committee immediately took measures to expose the conspiracy, and, by the aid of documents, which were exhibited to the members of the United States Senate, they succeeded in procuring such modifications of the treaty by the Senate, as secured to the Indians the exercise of their rights, and defeated the fraud.

In the year 1838, my father published *A Dissertation on Oaths*. In this small volume of a hundred pages, he has condensed much valuable information, and reasoned with unanswerable cogency against the use of oaths as a means of discovering truth. This was soon followed by a small volume *On Baptism*, in which he labored to sustain the views generally entertained by the Society of Friends on the subject, and controverted, without asperity, the opposite doctrine. About eight years later, his book relating to oaths was supplemented by a pamphlet styled, *Observations on Legal and Judicial Oaths*, calling the attention of the public particularly to the measures of the British government for the abolition of unnecessary oaths, and urging that the experiment be immediately made of substituting a solemn declaration for the oath, in all matters relating to the collection of the revenues, auditors' accounts, and the performance of official duty under Federal authority.

In 1841, my father wrote for the Friends' Library, a *Life of William Penn*. This work occupies more than three hundred pages in double columns of large octavo. It was written with



the especial design of depicting the religious life of its subject, and that design is well accomplished.

It is impossible to enumerate here all the productions of my father's pen prior to his becoming editor of the *Friends' Review* in 1847. He was a constant contributor for several years to *The National Era*; and he wrote many articles for leading newspapers on subjects of temporary interest. Though the great evil of negro-slavery largely occupied his thoughts, it was but one of many subjects that engaged his attention. His intellectual activity did not abate with increase of years, and he was always ready to lend aid to any movement which promised to promote human welfare. Believing that History as commonly written excites the admiration of the reader for achievements, which, in the eye of reason and religion, detract from the true glory of man; that it gives to battles and sieges, to the intrigues of courts and cabinets, to the exploits of diplomacy and the enterprises of ambition, a value and significance to which, they are not entitled, he determined to write a History of North America, in which due consideration should be bestowed on more important subjects of historical inquiry, such as the gradual emancipation of the human mind from the dominion of bigotry and superstition—the advances of religious liberty—the development of the true theory and principles of government—the growth of commerce, manufactures and the arts—the diffusion of intelligence, and every source of culture and prosperity; a work in which the madness and misery of war and the wickedness and folly of even successful wrong should neither be adorned nor concealed. This work he commenced in 1845, and in 1847 had one volume nearly ready for the press. After that time he became fully occupied with his editorial duties, and was unable to put a finishing hand, even to the first volume. It is to be regretted that he did not foresee in due time the engrossing occupations of the last nine years of his life, and make the necessary effort to complete this history, which he considered as of more value and of higher interest than any other of his literary productions.

Early in 1846, a committee was appointed by the Meeting

for Sufferings, to call the attention of our legislature to the unprotected condition of our colored population, under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, and to ask of that body the repeal of so much of the Act of 1780, abolishing slavery, as authorized the owners of slaves to retain them within the state for six months ; and the refusal of aid from the state authorities in recapturing fugitives. My father, having suggested the appointment of that committee, was made a member of it. He, in company with several colleagues, went to Harrisburg early in the Third Month, and had interviews with some of the leading men of both branches of the legislature. It was soon apparent that while many of the members were strongly in favor of the proposed law, there was an ill-concealed reluctance in others to legislate in any way on the subject of slavery. Such a measure was indeed due to the dignity of Pennsylvania as a sovereign state, and but for the influence of Southern sentiment upon Northern politics, the suggestion would have been enough. If the State was not to be permitted to regulate a procedure so repugnant to the spirit of her institutions and to the sentiments of her people, her honor demanded that she should abstain from all participation in it, and deny it any further aid from her than that which the Federal constitution required. My father was strongly impressed with that opinion, and labored earnestly to procure a law in conformity with it. A bill was reported to the House, satisfactory in all its provisions ; but as there was no prospect of immediate action, the committee returned home. My father at once prepared a petition to the legislature, in which he reviewed the whole course of legislation, state and federal, on the subject of fugitives from labor, and embodied in it a forcible argument in favor of the bill. The session, however, passed without legislation on the subject. The committee again visited Harrisburg early in 1847, on the same errand. A strong disposition now shewed itself to pass a proper bill. Satisfied with its prospect, the committee returned home. But the bill, having passed the House, lingered on the file of the Senate. Fearful of another disappointment, and distrustful of the stability of public senti-



ment, my father, without communicating his purpose to any one, repaired to Harrisburg, and called on his friend and former pupil, Charles Gibbons, the Speaker of the Senate. That gentleman undertook at once in the most obliging manner to have the bill brought before the Senate the next morning, and my father had the satisfaction of being present at its passage. The act afforded sufficient protection to the free black; prohibited judges, aldermen and justices of the peace from granting warrants for the arrest or the removal of fugitives under the authority of Congress, denied the use of the prisons of the commonwealth for the detention of negroes and mulattos claimed as slaves; and repealed the proviso of the abolition act of 1780, allowing the retention of slaves by their masters in this State for six months. It thus declared, with stronger emphasis than ever before, that Pennsylvania should be free soil. The section relating to the use of our prisons by the federal government was subsequently repealed, but in all other respects the Act, as passed in 1847, remained unaltered as long as slavery existed.

In 1844, my father sent to the press a Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry; including the Construction of Auxiliary Tables, a Concise Tract on the Conic Sections, and the Principles of Spherical Projection. This work passed through two editions, and was a decided improvement on previous works on the same subjects. Many of the demonstrations were new and original. Like other works by the same hand, it is too learned for ordinary use in schools, but may be studied with advantage by mathematical scholars.

In the Third Month, 1846, while my father was in attendance upon the legislature, his wife became suddenly ill; when he returned home he found her insensible, and on the following day, she died. This was a severe and unexpected stroke. Although she had taken no part in his public labors, the quiet beauty of her life and her affectionate care for him and for his children, had been the chief attraction of his home. She was a woman of more than ordinary culture, though of retiring disposition; and had inherited the characteristics of the Jackson family, many members of which were well known in



Chester county for their tender kindness of feeling and generous hospitality, as well as for their intelligence and philanthropy. Her father, John Jackson, of the botanic garden at Londongrove, was widely known among men of science, and her brother William, though not ambitious of political distinction, served with credit in the Senate of Pennsylvania, and was an acceptable public lecturer on political economy and the theory of population. She had fully sympathized with my father in his religious feelings, in his intellectual aims, and in his plans and hopes for social melioration. She left to survive her, three sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom was still in his minority.

On the 1st of the Ninth Month, 1847, my father issued his prospectus for the Friends' Review, a weekly journal, religious, literary and miscellaneous, to the editorship of which he was invited by an association of Friends belonging to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. They believed that a periodical in some respects different from *The Friend* was needed to express the opinions and principles of the major part of the Society. The design of the publication was not narrowly sectarian. While it was to defend the doctrines of the primitive Friends as those of the gospel, and to support the established order of the Society on the basis of its discipline, it should also maintain the great moral truths, on which the happiness of civil society depends, and diffuse useful information on miscellaneous subjects in a popular and attractive form. As Friends have always taken a leading part in opposition to the "twin relics of barbarism," war and slavery, the prospectus proposed to combat those evils by arguments addressed as well to the heart as to the understanding, but yet in a catholic and christian spirit. The first number of the "Review" was issued on the 4th of the Ninth Month, and from that date to the end of his life, he gave his time and attention unreservedly to the work. Its character was soon determined. Though always grave, it was never dull. It generally contained some pages suited to every undepraved taste. Sketches of the lives of persons eminent for their piety and usefulness and religious and moral essays were mingled with notices of philanthropic enterprises, popular

disquisitions on scientific subjects and occasional discussions on questions of general politics. The editor was sometimes assisted by able correspondents, but the original matter was principally his own. Some of his articles, especially those of a political character, are written with great force and in a strong, compact, nervous style, showing not only a complete mastery of the subject, but a correct literary taste, not common in one whose studies for a life-time have been mainly scientific and utilitarian. His moral essays, scattered throughout the Review, have an air of ease and elegance.

My father was not only a sincere believer in the religious tenets of the Friends, but in the practical efficacy of their principles for the great work of social melioration. He rejected the idea, sometimes urged by theoretical writers on social science, and insisted upon by a popular writer\* with great ingenuity and power, that the progress of mankind in civilization is dependent exclusively on intellectual activity, and that there is no progressive element in morality. He looked more to the predominance of that simple form of christianity which existed in the time of the Apostles, and which it is the purpose and mission of Quakerism to restore, for an efficacious remedy of the evils that infest society, than to all the triumphs of intellect however extraordinary or brilliant.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### VISIT TO NORTH CAROLINA—SICKNESS—DECEASE.

In the autumn of 1849, my father visited the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina. One of the most interesting features of this visit was a series of interviews with Nathan Hunt, then the patriarch of the Society in that region, still taking part in its meetings, and making his voice acceptably heard in its counsels, though in his ninety-second year. My father found Friends in North Carolina beset with difficulties and discouragements,

\* Mr. Buckle.



arising from the prevalence of slavery, and the pernicious influences which that institution never failed to exert. Many of the young and enterprising were looking to an early removal to some north-western state as a means of escape from the evils by which they were surrounded, and were glad to obtain counsel from those who had a wider knowledge of the world. Many had removed to Ohio and Indiana, and as their success and prosperity in their new homes became known the disposition to emigrate grew more general. Most of those who remained, however, adhered to their principles, and maintained, with manly consistency, their testimony and protest against slavery. This was not done without difficulty and sacrifices. The loyalty of North Carolina in resisting nullification and modifying the worst aspects of rebellion was largely due to the influence of Friends; and that influence is still of value in upholding the cause of civil order and human progress in that region. Nathan Hunt was one of those who had been engaged in the long struggle which the Society had maintained in that region against the influence of slavery. He was deeply interested in the result of the struggle, which had every day a more and more portentous aspect; and his information which had accumulated during seventy-five years of active life was most valuable.

In North Carolina an effort had been formerly made to render emancipation as difficult as possible. It was enacted by the Legislature, that every deed made for emancipating the blacks should be invalid, unless provision was made in it for the support of its subjects as long as they continued to live in the state. It was hoped by this provision to obstruct voluntary emancipation, and it was supposed that every effort on the part of the Friends, when they determined that the holding of slaves should be an offence against the good order of the Society, would be defeated. This plan, however, was not successful. The courts had determined that religious bodies, such as the Yearly Meeting of Friends of North Carolina, were corporations, and capable as such of purchasing and selling slaves. The Friends, therefore, who wished to sever all connection with slavery, were advised to make conveyances of their slaves to



the Yearly Meeting. The title of that meeting to hold them as slaves was perfect, and the Yearly Meeting being the legal owners, took charge of them as they were entitled to do under the law, and were careful to bestow upon them all the immunities of which men in their condition were capable. Under the care of committees appointed by the Yearly Meeting they were educated and instructed. Provision was made for them and they became by far the best part of the negro population of the state. Thus the law was strictly obeyed, and its wicked purpose was wholly defeated. When the war broke out a few years afterwards, the Friends were not forgotten for having so adroitly eluded the provision intended to prevent voluntary emancipation, and when they became subject to military regulations they were treated with the utmost rigor. A number of Friends drafted into North Carolina regiments were driven into the ranks with muskets strapped to their backs, and they were compelled to act as ostlers and servants for the officers. In one instance, a day or two before the battle of Gettysburg, a Friend attached to one of these regiments was thrown upon the ground and held prostrate, while his colonel rode over him repeatedly, expecting that his horse would trample the Friend beneath his feet. The horse, however, was more merciful than his master, and the Friend escaped injury. The colonel was killed in the battle.

After a few weeks my father returned to Philadelphia and resumed his editorial duties. His family remained in New Garden, forty miles away, where he visited them frequently. His son John was now of age, and managed the farm, but my father still retained a general oversight. He usually went to New Garden by way of Wilmington, where on notice a carriage would meet him ; but averse to giving trouble, he often came without notice, walking the last twelve miles of his journey. At the age of seventy-one he could still take this walk without undue fatigue. But occasionally, under pressure for time, he walked home after his day's work, arriving late in the night ; and this caused some anxiety to his family after he had reached advanced age, and was made a subject of affectionate remonstrance with him. He listened patiently to such sugges-

tions, but was at the time little influenced by them. His natural vigor was not greatly impaired till far in his seventy-seventh year. During the summer of 1848, a sudden and severe attack of colic, from which he suffered at night for some hours alone, before he succeeded in making his condition known, gave his system a severe shock. It reduced his strength and affected his step, which was previously firm and elastic, with something of the unsteadiness and uncertainty usual in old age.

In the winter of 1849, my brother, William J. Lewis, sailed for California, seeking a temporary home amid milder winters than those of his native climate. His purpose was to return in a very few years; but my father believed that the parting was final, and it affected him more than the occasion seemed to warrant. In answer to my hopeful suggestions, he expressed a conviction, founded on feeling rather than on the apparent probabilities of the case: "I felt," said he, "on bidding William farewell, that I should never see him again." His impression proved to be correct. Seven years later, when my father's health seriously failed, William made every effort to break away from his engagements in California as deputy surveyor of the land office for that state, but before he could leave San Francisco my father died.

It was my father's habit to walk from his dwelling on Jacoby street to the office of the "Review," a distance of nearly a mile, twice a day, returning to dine. He usually spent the evening with his family, and was rarely long without the company of some one of a large circle of friends, by whom he was highly respected, and to whom he was greatly endeared, and he occasionally went abroad to call upon some one of his aged contemporaries. Among his intimate associates at this period were Jane Johnson, a valuable member of the Society, of about the same age with himself; David Birney, a much younger man, who afterwards became Major General in the United States Service, and commanded a corps in the Army of the Potomac; his brother, William T. Birney, afterwards Brigadier-general in the same army; and the widow of my father's deceased friend Joseph John Gurney, the eminent



teacher in the Society of Friends in England, who, being himself a man of extensive learning and of scientific tastes, had some years before, while prosecuting his religious labors in this country, formed a close friendship with my father. Even at this period he seldom allowed any severity of weather to interfere with his routine of duty. In the heat of summer and the cold of winter, his daily walks to and from the office were the same, and not till he had passed his seventy-ninth year did he find it necessary to give up this exertion. His eyesight had now begun to fail. He read with great difficulty, and he found a staff useful in walking. In the spring of 1855, however, he paid a pleasant visit to his old friend, Richard Mott, at Burlington, New Jersey, and a little later attended the New York and Rhode Island Yearly Meetings, with much enjoyment. For more than a year, one of his children usually read to him several hours of the day, or wrote what he dictated for publication in the Review. His facility of composition and the strength and accuracy of his memory made his editorial duties rest lightly upon him. He could resume his dictation after a considerable interval, with a perfect recollection of the last sentence in the unfinished piece, and he was frequently able, in quoting an author, to name the page on which the passage would be found. His memory continued to be retentive and accurate, and he had at command the information read to him. His recollection of numbers and of statistics was a marvel to all who knew him. He suspected during the last years of his life that his memory was failing, but, if so, no one perceived it but himself. It was his habit to solve mentally a few mathematical problems every week, for the purpose of preserving his power of concentration, and this practice probably assisted to preserve his memory in vigor. It was a common remark with him, that "if old men would keep their minds bright, they must keep them in use," and he certainly did not suffer his own to grow dull by inaction. It was commonly said of him that he never forgot a date. I once called with him when I was studying law, upon a lady long one of his intimate friends, Martha Jefferis, a daughter of Joshua Sharpless, superintendent at Westtown. There was a lull in the conver-



sation and the lady dropped the remark, "Well, Enoch, we are getting along in life. I was forty-eight years old yesterday." My father quickly answered "Thou wert worse than that. Thou wert forty-nine years old yesterday." "Why, thee don't tell me," she replied, "that I have forgotten my own age." He rejoined "I know no more about it than what thy father himself told me. He told me at Westtown that thou wert born on a certain day, (stating the day) of the Fourth Month, 1775. If he, therefore, was right, thou wert forty-nine yesterday." She said, "That's true. It is very strange that a whole year should slip out of my life without my knowing it."

In the early part of the Tenth Month, 1855, my mother's brother, Isaac Jackson, died at his residence in Green Street, Philadelphia. My father met the company assembled at the funeral, walking thither from his house in Jacoby Street, a distance of more than three-quarters of a mile, and returning on foot without much apparent fatigue. On the night after the funeral, he had a severe attack of cholera-morbus, which seriously reduced his strength. After this he went to the office but once or twice, and rarely ventured abroad except to Meeting, whither he usually went in a carriage.

Of four brothers-in-law, Emmor Kimber, Charles Allen, Isaac Jackson and my father, who were intimate friends and associates in their youth, and whose friendly relations had continued till separated by death, he was the last survivor. His growing infirmities admonished him that he must soon follow them, and although he continued to attend diligently to his duties as editor, and to take a lively interest in the events of the day, especially those that related to the institution of slavery, he considered that his work was almost done. He continued to attend meetings for worship till the Second Month, 1856, but during the Third Month his strength so far failed that he was unable to leave his chamber.

As the session of Yearly Meeting approached, his solicitude for the unity of the Society, then seriously threatened, greatly affected his spirits. It was a subject of continual thought and anxiety. Though decided in his opinions on the subject at issue, and frank in expressing them, he was above all desirous of

harmony, and earnestly counselled the numerous Friends who visited his chamber to moderation and forbearance.

For sixty years he had regularly attended the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and for full half a century he had been active in its deliberation, and in the work of its committees. It was no small trial to his feelings to be kept away by physical weakness, when wisdom, experience and christian temper were needed for the reputation and integrity of the Society. As the crisis approached when it was to be feared that those who agreed in opinion with him would be compelled to withdraw from the majority who sustained the irregular proceedings of Wilbur, his anxiety increased. He dictated the following letter, and sent it by a Friend who presented it to the Meeting and proposed that it be read.

“ TO THE YEARLY MEETING NOW SITTING :

*Dear Friends.*—Having been long solicitous for the peace and prosperity of our Society at large, and particularly of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, of which I have always been a member, and being now anxious that the harmony and unity which have been sorrowfully interrupted may, if possible, be restored, I am about to use the liberty in offering, in the only way I can offer, to the Yearly Meeting, a few brief considerations, hoping they may be received with all the candor and kindness to which they are, I trust, entitled.

Though I have been long solicitous that the precious doctrines and testimonies which have been committed to our Religious Society may be maintained in all their fullness and purity, I have not been able to discover that any doctrines are in circulation among us which ought to interrupt the peace and unity of the Society. I fully believe that the means and the principles which brought the Society together in the beginning, and which have, in good measure, preserved us as one body to the present time, are amply sufficient to heal all our wounds and to render us again a united body, maintaining a common faith and laboring to support the same cause and testimonies. But, dear friends, let us remember, that in the administration of our discipline, condescension is often indis-

pensable, and, that condescension, to be effectual, must be mutual. Now, permit me, in the love of the Gospel, to propose as one step towards the restoration of harmony, the only one, perhaps, which can be taken at present, that Friends agree to consider it as an open question, to be examined and decided at a future day, which of the two bodies, claiming the character of Ohio Yearly Meeting, shall be regarded as the genuine one with which we are free to hold religious fellowship and correspondence? and that this question, together with the advice communicated to us by other Yearly Meetings upon this subject, be referred to the consideration of the meeting next year; a minute being entered upon the records of the present, pledging the meeting to enter upon the inquiry at an early period of the meeting, and to endeavor to procure a full, weighty and deliberate investigation of the subject, so as to restore if practicable, harmony among ourselves, and unity with the great body of our religious Society.

Such a measure would not pledge the Yearly Meeting to any particular course of action, but would leave the way open to any measure which might be suggested in the wisdom of truth.

Not expecting, from my present state of weakness, that any further communication, either verbal or written, will ever be offered by me to the Yearly Meeting, I leave the subject to my friends, fervently desiring that the love which has long characterized the Society, may mark the proceedings on this important subject, and that the God of peace may be with you.

Your ancient and exercised friend,

ENOCH LEWIS.

Philadelphia, 4th Month 25th, 1856."

To such a proposition, it is surprising that objection should be made. It was nevertheless made, in a spirit very different from that which inspired the writer and breathed in the letter itself, and the reading was prevented. This result was a disappointment, the greater that he knew this to be his last act in connection with the religious body of which he had been all his days a devoted member. The unkindness shewn him, however, by the spirit of partisanship, brought many friends to



his bedside with comforting expressions of sympathy and love. By great forbearance on the part of the minority of the Yearly Meeting, the difficulty was passed without a breach.

Although my father was now unable to leave his bed without assistance, he continued to dictate editorial articles for the Review. A long political essay, entitled *The Compromises and Blunders of the Federal Constitution*, written out in two sittings at his dictation, is remarkable for the precision of its references to legal authorities, and for the clearness, vigor and finish of its style. He also dictated several moral essays, mature in thought and impressive in expression; and the original matter thus prepared, supplied the editorial columns of the Review for some weeks after his decease.

I was in the habit of visiting my father during the spring and summer of 1856 weekly, and of spending the first day of each week in his chamber, occasionally reading to him passages of such books as he desired to hear—more frequently of the Bible and New Testament than of any other. His knowledge of the Scriptures was intimate and accurate, and he frequently entered upon a discussion of the meaning and proper translation of particular sentences, and showed how they were illustrated by others, and by reference to customs and ceremonies of the Jews, in a way that proved a most careful and thorough study of the Bible, and a deep interest in its lessons of truth. When the hour for the assembling of the morning meeting arrived, he always desired to be left alone, however feeble; and, for more than an hour, no one entered his room. This quiet interval was devoted to spiritual refreshment.

On the 11th of the Seventh Month, I received a message from my eldest sister, informing me that our father had become suddenly worse, and hastened to him. By the time I arrived, it had become evident, both to himself and to those around him, that he was rapidly approaching his end. When I came to his bed-side, he extended his hand, and after inquiring for my family, remarked, "I must leave to my children to care for me now. I can no longer judge for myself. My mind is almost gone." He then spoke of his extreme weakness, and of his approaching dissolution, which he expected within a few hours,

not only with entire composure and self-possession, but in a tone of cheerfulness which showed a degree of pleasure in the prospect. I noticed it by a remark, when he quickly rejoined, "I greatly crave that such may be the experience of my children." He added, after a short interval, "I have finished my work, both for the Society and for the world." He seemed then inclined to sleep, and, without saying more, sank into a state of unconsciousness, in which he continued till late in the afternoon of the 14th, when, in the presence of four of his children and two beloved nieces, he calmly expired, aged eighty years, five months and fifteen days.

The following letter from my son-in-law, the Rev. Erastus Wentworth, some years a Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in China, shows the impression made by my father in his old age, upon a minister of a religious denomination different from his own :

SANDY HILL, N. Y., June 5, 1882.

*My Dear Mr. Lewis :*—You ask for my recollections of Enoch Lewis, your father. I saw him but a few times, in the late autumn and winter of 1854, when we were visiting friends in Philadelphia and elsewhere, preparatory to sailing for China.

One of these occasions revealed to me lucidly his immense personal influence in the Society of Friends, showing that his word was as good as his bond, and that a remote hint was tantamount to personal solicitation, or a positive order.

To swell the libraries of the colleges with which I had been connected, McKendree in the West, and Dickinson in Pennsylvania, I had been in the habit of soliciting gratuitous donations of books from publishing houses, religious and secular, with a good measure of success.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Louis responded to a personal application, with a generous donation of historical and polemical works, from his peculiar standpoint. Congregationalists and Unitarians in Boston, and Presbyterians in Philadelphia, seemed only too glad of an opportunity to place selections of their works upon the shelves of a college library.

I wished to give the followers of Penn and Barclay a similar



chance, and, accompanied by your son, Charlton, I called upon your father, and laid my application before him. He heard me in silence, and taking up his hat, led the way for some blocks, to the Friends' Publishing House, and introduced us to the agent in charge, in the following laconic style: "Friend Thomas, this is Erastus Wentworth and this is Charlton Lewis; they will tell thee their business, and thou mayest rely on what they will say to thee," and went immediately out. It is needless to say, that a handsome selection of the choicest publications of the Society were speedily boxed, and on their way to Carlisle.

A note in a pocket diary of 1854 shows that our rambling itineracy, bidding farewell to friends, embraced a visit to the Cookmans, at Harrisburg, December 5th, and that we spent the night of the 6th at Enoch Lewis's, in Philadelphia. That evening, our presence and anticipated speedy departure were honored with a considerable gathering of relatives and friends, ecclesiastically a motley of Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers, but one of the most delightful times, socially, that I ever enjoyed.

Anna, I remember, remarked that it was the nearest approach to a "party" that had ever been had in her grandfather's house. Of course, quiet conversation brought to the surface flashes of the experience, wisdom, and exhaustless stores of information, which characterized the venerable host.

As I write, I look upon a worn and faded daguerreotype of the departed patriarch, that has accompanied all my wanderings since 1854, one of those saintly relics that I count it no sin to venerate.

The noble head, snowy locks, ample forehead, heavy, contracted brows, firm mouth, and face furrowed with care, thought and age, indicate the integrity, piety and kindly nature that you, and all that knew him, lovingly recall.

E. WENTWORTH.

The following extract of a letter from a former pupil of my father, now living in New York, recalls the impression made



by him in advanced life, upon a boy in whose education he took an interest :

"I was but a child when I first went to New Garden, and became the pupil of your father ; and of all the men whom I met in boyhood, he was the one who commanded most fully my reverence. I saw much of him during the last twelve years of his life, and this early impression was never weakened. Twenty-six years more have passed, and it has been my fortune to meet large numbers of the leaders of men, both in the world of literature, and in that of practical life, but very rarely, it seems to me, have I met his superior in intellect, and hardly yet his equal in the simplicity, dignity and strength of his moral character. He never seemed to seek authority, or to aspire to influence, yet he exercised both to an extraordinary degree among all his associates, and I never saw him in any company which would not, by common consent, acknowledge him its most important member. His self control was never shaken ; no provocation extorted from him an expression of anger or impatience. His power of holding his own judgment in suspense deeply impressed his pupils, and made them ashamed of crude opinions and hasty conclusions. They felt that his mental attitude was always that of an impartial lover of truth. He rarely expressed a strong conviction or used words of emphasis, and when he did so, he conveyed the assurance that there was accurate knowledge and vigorous reasoning behind.

"He was not fluent of speech, was never hasty in answering questions, was very tolerant of silence, and even of long pauses for thought in the midst of conversation, but, having waited till his mind was clear of its purpose, he spoke with precision and moderation, and often with what seemed to be strong feeling, not less strong because under complete control.

"I shall always remember with gratitude his methods of awakening to activity the young minds around him ; the patience and condescension with which he assumed their level, and strove to set them thinking their own thoughts, rather than admiring or adopting his. One of the first occasions on which I learned to be fond of his society was this : Having a short

journey to make, in an open wagon, occupying parts of two days, he invited me to go with him. I went with some dread, a boy of twelve, fond of the air and the hills, but expecting that my venerable companion would be absorbed in thoughts beyond my world, and would be incapable of sympathy with me. But he made every hour agreeable, as well as instructive. I remember well how he strove to ascertain what would interest me, and to excite curiosity on matters in which he could gratify it. For instance, water-works had just been built in a village near at hand, and I was puzzled about the distribution of the water, and how the charges for it could be made equitable, without measuring the consumption of each household. He made such explanations as were within his knowledge, and then added that such measurement was possible. I asked how. He answered that he had never learned the actual construction of meters for fluids passing through pipes, but he thought we could in theory devise one which would do the work, if we would take pains to think it out. So the conversation went on, he meeting one difficulty after another, by contrivances which he made perfectly plain to me, so that, at its close, I had clearly in mind the essential features of the instrument. From that day to this, the meters for water and gas have had a peculiar interest to my mind, but I believe that none of them in use embody any important principle which was not suggested at that time.

"Not long before his death, I had a conversation with him of a far more impressive character. I should be glad, if possible, to recall his words, but can only tell you the general purport. It was that advancing years had satisfied him, more and more, of the insignificance of the differences among Christian sects and creeds, among forms of worship and external habits of life, and of the supreme importance of the common faith in Christ, and of the essential morality of the Christian system. These assurances were not needed by me, who already knew him as, under his straight coat and impassive face, bearing a heart no where excelled in the spirit of universal toleration, and of comprehensive charity. But they may be worth mentioning, if any yet survive of those who, during his life, mis-



understood him and suspected him of narrowness and coldness."

My father was, in his person, full five feet ten inches in height, erect, strong, muscular and sinewy, and at no time inclined to corpulency. He was active on his feet, walked with a quick step, and was capable of great endurance. His high and well-shaped head, ample forehead, deep set and piercing hazel eye, firm mouth and decided cast of features, expressed a striking individuality, and made him a notable figure in any company. His face indicated force of character and had an aspect of command, which was aided and emphasized by the gravity of his demeanor. In most companies he was regarded as a prominent figure, and maintained, as much by his appearance and carriage, as by his intellectual superiority, a marked ascendancy.

Considering time as his estate, he set the proper value on single minutes, and allowed none to run to waste. He had no inclination for ordinary games and plays, or for such recreations as involved no exercise of mind, but had rather an aversion for them. He was capable of excelling in field sports, though he rarely indulged in them, even in his youth. At leaping or a foot-race he had no equals at school, and he retained his activity late in life. While residing at New Garden, when the roads were in bad condition for horse and carriage, he frequently walked to Philadelphia, a distance of forty miles. In such cases he would leave home a little while before sunset, walk till towards ten o'clock, stop at some friend's house to lodge, and, after an early breakfast, reach the city about the ordinary business hour in the morning. He performed much of his travelling by night, in his excursions on business of his own or on that of the Society, in order to save time; and he persevered in this practice until he was far advanced in life. I remember that in or about the year 1840, after being employed all day as engineer in running the line of a projected rail road near West Chester, he called at my house in the evening, after exposure for some hours to the rain, and procured dry clothes—among them a blue coat with brass buttons. It was so strange to see him thus accoutred that I naturally rallied



him on his improved appearance. He bore this kindly, quietly waiting until his own clothes were dry, and then resumed them. He remained till about ten o'clock, in conversation with my wife and myself. He then rose and said, "it is now about your hour for retiring, and it is time I was on my way home." I tried to prevail on him to remain over night, and, failing in that, to obtain his permission to take him in a carriage at least some miles on his way. But he declined every offer, observing that he had a subject on his mind which he wished to consider, and it would be a good opportunity to think it out as he walked. I accompanied him a mile on his way, and then left him to pursue his tramp of sixteen miles alone.

From his boyhood my father's intellectual bent was strong towards abstract science. He valued language and literature solely as means of embodying and communicating truth, and can hardly ever be said to have made them independent objects of study. He acquired the French language early in life, but it was for the purpose of access to the great writers and thinkers who had employed it. One of his unfinished undertakings was a translation of Biot's Treatise on Physics. Had he pursued his scientific aims with perseverance, and devoted his life to their cultivation, he would doubtless have done fuller justice to his own powers and earned a wider reputation. But neither the promotion of his fame nor even his aspiration for knowledge was ever permitted to stand in the way, when there seemed to be an opportunity for immediate service to his fellow-men; and hence the work of his religious society and many forms of philanthropic labor engrossed more and more of his time and thoughts, withdrawing him from the pursuits for which he was exceptionally, and perhaps I may say, brilliantly endowed. Thus the advocacy of religious truth and of social reform, in modest ways and in a comparatively narrow sphere, absorbed for many years the energies which might, perhaps, have given him a high place in the ranks of science. But there is one form of usefulness in which we need not inquire what might have been; since his actual achievements will long be remembered with gratitude. His peculiar powers as a teacher made a deep and lasting im-

pression on many growing minds. This was especially true of his mathematical instructions. By his firm grasp of the central truth in question, by the clearness of his reasoning, by the precision of his language, and by the fertility of his invention, he kept the intellect of the pupil on the strain, up to the limit of its capacity, yet always aided and encouraged it to advance, making the way sure before it. He carefully sought to dispel obscurity, and taught the young mind to delight in the distinct apprehension of truth for itself, and thus succeeded in inspiring many with a love for the sure processes and the satisfactory results of mathematical reasoning, such as exerted a permanent influence on their intellectual character. It is a familiar fact that, when he was young, a thorough knowledge even of elementary mathematics was a very rare accomplishment in the Society of Friends, and in the county of Chester; but that, during the last generation no part of the United States has been more distinguished for the thoroughness with which this branch of study is pursued in its schools; and it is simple justice to assert that the happy change is due more largely to his influence than to that of any other man. Among the pupils who received their scientific training in a greater or less degree from him, and who have since become widely known, may be named the eminent mathematical authors, Benjamin Hallowell, of Alexandria, and John Gummere, of Burlington, and the well known botanist, Joshua Hoopes, of West Chester; while others of his pupils, such as Eli K. Price, of Philadelphia, and Judge Townsend Haines, of Chester county, have been leading men in other walks of life.

In conversation, my father was entertaining and instructive. His mind was full, and he had his resources at command, but he made no display of learning, never bringing it forward unless it was demanded, and he readily accommodated himself to his company. His retentive memory furnished him with an ample supply of anecdotes, which he used by way of illustration, but he never told a story for the sake of the story itself. He had a vein of quiet humor, which would break out at times when least expected, and make his talk particularly enjoyable. Though lively and animated, he was not a laughier. Indeed, I



never knew him to laugh aloud, however he might be amused, but his silent laugh was most expressive. He enjoyed a good story when it was not in any way offensive to decency or morality. But perhaps the most marked characteristic of his thoughts and conversation was their absolute purity. From boyhood to the grave, no one ever heard from his lips an idle word which could shock or sully the innocence of a maiden or a child. Vice rarely ventured to show itself in his presence, and he never paused to contemplate it, but simply turned from it in disgust. He never condescended to use bad grammar in any company, even the least informed. Nor would he address any one but by his proper name. In his vocabulary there was no "Bill" for William, nor "Jack" for John.

Though he had naturally a high and quick temper, he kept it under strong bolt and bar, and I never knew him, under whatever provocation, to return an angry answer, though his feelings were sensitive, and he had a keen sense of injury or insult—but he possessed too much of philosophical dignity and of Christian forbearance to allow his self-command to be overcome by sudden emotion. No man ever set a more vigilant watch upon his own conduct, was more guarded in his language or more scrupulous to do what he believed to be right. In judging of other men, he habitually took the charitable view, and whatever his judgment might be, he was never passionate in its expression. I never heard him speak ill of any man. In dealing with offenders against the discipline of the Society of Friends, a duty not unfrequently imposed upon him, he was usually exceedingly lenient, and averse to advising extreme measures. His heart was tender and his affections strong, yet he seemed to regard any manifestation of feeling as a weakness, and neither to crave nor to need sympathy. He stood by the graves of his two wives, and of several of his children, tearless, and, a casual beholder, knowing nothing of his true nature, might have thought him devoid of ordinary sensibility. But the fact was far otherwise. His sorrows were deep, poignant and lasting. Every death in his family impressed him profoundly, and the impression was never obliterated. He once remarked to me, "This day, twenty-six years



ago, I lost thy mother, and not a day has passed since that I have not thought of her, whatever have been my occupations." When nearly eighty years old, he said to my wife, "It is one of the hopes that I continually cherish that I shall yet meet my Alice in another sphere, and know and be known by her." When his son Charles died, he maintained an aspect of stoic firmness by a great effort, while it was seriously apprehended by some of his friends that his mind would not endure the strain. The death of his daughter Mary, a girl of singular promise, was a severe shock to him, and he observed, during the remainder of his life, the anniversaries of the event with a marked solemnity of demeanor. I spent the evening of the last of those anniversaries at his house in Philadelphia, when he reminded me of his loss, of the date of its occurrence, and mentioned many incidents of her brief career and circumstances attending its close. Of his fifteen children, ten lived to attain mature age, and seven survived him. He took a lively interest in the welfare of those around him, and a number of his dependents profited largely by his considerate care and timely aid. More than one family was saved from want by his kindly interposition, and several of his employees were rescued from intemperance by his means.

In his dealings, he was careful to pay what he owed with promptness, while to his debtors he was indulgent to a fault. He frequently lent money on insufficient security, and sometimes lost it. He passed through a long life without litigation or even dispute. He was frequently executor, administrator, assignee and guardian, yet, however complicated and entangled the affairs of the trust estates in his hands, they were managed with uniform success, and satisfactorily settled. Law suits were avoided by compromise and conciliation, which were rendered the more easy by the general confidence in the accuracy of his judgment and the integrity of his character.

Throughout the whole of a long life my father strictly conformed in every respect to the peculiar usages of the Society of Friends. He was as plain in his dress at the age of twenty-five as at seventy-five, and was even more studiously so. As he advanced in life, and mingled more with the world, he at-

tached less importance to the subject than he did in his youth. He was always strict in the performance of his religious duties. Nothing short of actual inability was allowed to interfere with his regular attendance at meetings for worship. In harvest time, while at New Garden, it mattered not what was the state of the weather, when the hour for the week-day meeting arrived, every one over whom he had control, was required to quit work and go with him to meeting. I once ventured to remonstrate with him, on an occasion of this kind, against leaving a large quantity of hay, fully cured and ready for the barn, exposed to a heavy storm of rain which appeared imminent, but without effect. Three of us left the hay in the field, expecting to find it, on our return, deluged by rain; but in this we were agreeably disappointed. The clouds rolled away without rain, and nothing was lost or injured by our absence. The remonstrance, after this experience, was not repeated.

As a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, having charge of the general interests of the Society within the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, he was in middle life intimately associated with men who will long be remembered for their ability, piety and wisdom. Among them I may name Jonathan Evans, John Cox, Samuel Bettle and Stephen Grelet, whose minds and character would have lent weight and dignity to the deliberations of any Senate upon affairs of the State or the Nation.

On the death of Robert Patterson, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, my father was urged to become an applicant for the vacant professorship. But learning that the duties of the chair would keep him from his week-day meetings, he declined to become an applicant.

In domestic life my father's character was most distinctly revealed, there being little of his usual reserve at his own fire-side. In the welfare of every member of his large family, he took an affectionate interest. As a husband he was tender, kind, indulgent and sympathetic, and with his wife he was at all times in perfect harmony. During nearly half a century of married life, he never addressed to her a hasty, petulant or impatient word. Whatever she did, in her department, was in his estimation well done, and was not subject to question or

cavil. The intellectual and moral development of his children occupied much of his attention. He never failed to afford them all the advantages in his power, and he was careful to impress their minds with the truths of christianity, in which he was a firm believer. When his children were old enough to make choice of a business, he allowed them to choose without interference. About the time I arrived at age, I informed him that I meant to study and practice law, and requested his approval. He replied, that although he would not himself have chosen the law as a pursuit for one of his children, he would not take the responsibility of objecting, as the question was one peculiarly for my own taste and judgment. The same course was pursued in respect to my brothers, the youngest of whom followed in my footsteps, and became a member of the legal profession.

To his grand-children, who visited him occasionally, he unbent completely when they became old enough to enjoy his society; and they were his constant companions. Their intrusion was not unwelcome, even when his mind was absorbed with his studies, and it was curious to see with what readiness he cast aside graver thoughts to interest them in subjects within their comprehension.

Many men have lived more brilliant lives than Enoch Lewis, but rarely has any man lived a better one.



















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